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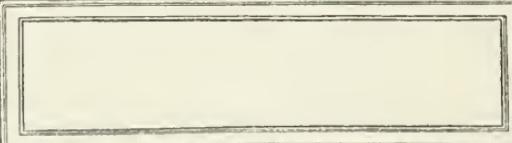
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THE HOUSE OF LORDS:

ITS

HISTORY, RIGHTS AND USES.

WITH

A SHORT SUMMARY OF THE PAST ACTIONS OF SOME OF OUR OLD NOBILITY.

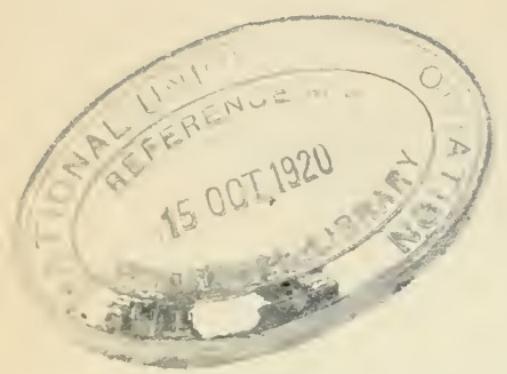
BY

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PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION. 1907
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THE object of the following pages is twofold:—1st. To correct, in some measure, the misrepresentations and apocryphal tales which are so frequently circulated about the origin, use, and position of our Aristocracy. 2nd. To furnish those who desire to look into the subject with some reliable data and with a few hints for correcting some of the wrong notions which are being so industriously spread by the enemies of our present Constitution—Radical and revolutionary agitators—whose sole object seems to be destruction.

The reader will notice that in some portions the subject has been dealt with in an abrupt and fragmentary manner—intentionally so—simply from a desire to confine this work to a definite size, and also that the ideas herein expressed might be followed up and enlarged by the reader himself. They are merely intended as “hooks” on which he may hang his own ideas, and carry out the suggested thoughts.

Much important matter, chiefly of an illustrative character, has necessarily been suppressed; but the facts adduced may be relied on for accuracy, and that I conceive to be the most important part of a book of this kind.

The necessity for the “Fifth Edition” of this work at the present time springs from the fact that, up till quite recently, the attacks on the House of Lords have been made chiefly by extreme Radicals, Revolutionists and Socialists individually. Since, however, the declaration of the Liberal Conference at Leeds (1894), and the subsequent official adoption by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and his Cabinet of a policy calculated to destroy the Constitution of the House of Lords and injure its influence, it has become increasingly necessary for all friends of Constitutional liberty to spread correct information respecting the work and position of that branch of our Legislature, to whose action we owe so much of our present social and political freedom.

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The amendment of the 1906 Education Bill by the House of Lords is said to have brought matters to a crisis. In any case, the practical destruction of the House of Lords has been decreed, and the next political contest will not be fought either on Home Rule, Labour, or the Newcastle programme, but on whether we are to retain our Constitution intact or submit it to "political vandals," whose destructive instincts will only be satisfied by the demolition of the Throne, The House of Lords, The Church, and the Capitalist.

A careful perusal of the following pages, will, it is hoped, supply some reasons why these revolutionary tactics should not succeed.

If the object aimed at be wholly, or even partially, accomplished by the present publication, and any reader be thereby induced to examine this interesting subject for himself, he will find it not only instructive in the highest degree, but his veneration and affection for an institution like the British Peerage will be equalled only by the pleasure he will derive from its contemplation. The author will in that case be amply repaid by such a result of his efforts.

THOMAS FIELDING.

January, 1907.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS: ITS HISTORY, RIGHTS, AND USES.

CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND.

ONE of the first steps for the political student of our history to take is to master the fact that the present constitution of this country consists of the following estates—commonly called “The three estates of the realm”—under

- The Monarch at the head.
- 1st. The Lords Spiritual.
- 2nd. The Lords Temporal.
- 3rd. The Commons.

On this subject, the following authorities may be quoted: Blackstone (sec. 153) says:—

“The constituent parts of parliament are, the king’s majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, in the one house; and the commons in another. The king and these (3) estates form together the body politic of this kingdom.”

Sir Edward Creasy, a Constitutional writer, and a Chief Justice of Ceylon (p. 4), says:—

“The great primeval and enduring principles of our constitution are as follows: The government of the country by an hereditary sovereign, ruling with limited powers, and bound to summon and consult the parliament of the whole realm, comprising hereditary peers and elected representatives of the commons.”

Hallam says (Constitutional History, p. 17):—

“The government of England, in all times recorded by history, has been one of those mixed or limited monarchies which the Celtic and Gothic tribes appear universally to have established.”

De Lolme (p. 167) says:—

“The basis of the English Constitution, the capital principle on which the others depend is, that the legislative power belongs to parliament alone—*i.e.*, all power of establishing laws, and of abrogating, changing, or explaining them. The constituent parts of parliament are—the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons.”

KING’S PREROGATIVES.

A word as to their power and functions.

The King is the supreme ruler of this realm, and by virtue of this office there is vested in him, by custom and parliamentary authority, the following among other prerogatives and powers: (1) He is the supreme magistrate—the source of all executive and judicial power. (2) He dismisses and calls together Parliament. (3) He is the fountain of

honour—*i.e.*, the distributor and donor of all titles and dignities, including the peerage and every other lesser titular distinction. (4) He is the superintendent of commerce, regulates weights and measures, coins money, and gives currency and value to foreign coin. (5) He is the head of the Church, and nominates bishops. (6) He is the head of all the military and naval forces, and officers only act by virtue of his commission. (7) He makes treaties, and is a personification of the collective majesty of the nation.

In glancing over the list of the foregoing prerogatives and powers with which the laws of this country have invested the monarch, we seem, at first sight, at a loss to reconcile them with the idea of a limited monarchy—the term *unlimited* would seem to be more applicable, for the king not only unites in himself all the branches of the executive power; he not only disposes without control of the whole military power of the State, but he seems to be, moreover, master of the law itself; since he calls up and dismisses at his will the legislative bodies, and *apparently* is invested with all the prerogatives that were ever claimed by the most absolute monarchs. But if we examine this matter closely, we shall see that all this power exists in theory rather than in fact. The machinery is in the hands of the king, it is true, but the power to make it move is in those of the two Houses of Parliament. It is from their liberality alone that the king can obtain supplies; and in these days, when *gold* has become the great moving spring of affairs, we may safely affirm that he who depends upon the will of another for the supply of so important an article (whatever his *apparent* power may be) is in a state of *real dependence*.

This is especially the case with the King of England. He has the prerogative of commanding armies and fleets! But without Parliament he cannot pay them. He can appoint officers to places of power and trust! But without Parliament he cannot pay their salaries. He can declare war! But without Parliament he cannot carry it on, nor pay for a single cannon, or a round of ammunition. The position of the monarch is like that of a first-class battleship, beautiful to look at, and dangerous to oppose; but Parliament can draw off the water, and leave it stranded—a useless and harmless hulk upon the shore—or, like a steam engine, useful and powerful; but unless Parliament consents to supply the steam, it is weak and of very little utility.

But we must not travel further on this tempting path, but come to our more immediate purpose—“The House of Lords.” It is an interesting study to notice and follow the growth of our parliamentary institutions.

For at least *seven* or *eight* reigns after the Norman Conquest the Commons were entirely unrepresented in the Great

Council of the nation, except as spectators, or occasionally as complainants when some public grievance required a remedy, to pay for which taxes had to be levied.

ANCIENT BARONS, THE LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE.

The reason for this is not difficult to explain. We must remember that in those times the *barons* and *bishops* were the natural and actual leaders of the people—in arms, in social position, in religion and learning; and last, though not least, in resistance to the encroaching power and despotism of various of our self-willed monarchs. They were also the leaders in procuring for the people of this kingdom that liberty and freedom which has been the foundation of all her past greatness, and is the root from which will spring all our future distinction. They also paid nearly all the taxes, and provided from their own substance the expenses of all the wars; moreover, the reverses of the country fell *first* upon them. Every reign will supply proofs of the foregoing facts. We will now merely instance the case of the procuring of Magna Charta, with its numerous confirmations in later reigns.

MAGNA CHARTA.

The character of King John has often been described, and historians are almost unanimous in their opinion of him. He was cruel, treacherous, despotic, licentious, and cowardly.

His treatment of Prince Arthur, and also of his own wife, will for ever stamp his name with infamy. Lingard says of him (vol. 3, p. 70):—

KING JOHN.

“He stands before us polluted with meanness, cruelty, perjury, and murder—uniting with an ambition which rushed through every crime to the attainment of its object, a pusillanimity which often at the sole appearance of opposition sank into despondency. Arrogant in prosperity—abject in adversity—he neither conciliated affection in the one, nor excited esteem in the other. Seldom was there a prince more callous to the suggestions of pity.”

An old record tersely describes him as—

“A knight without truth.
A king without justice.
A Christian without faith.”

Such was the character of the man whom the nobles and people of those times had to deal with. He betrayed Normandy, he sold and delivered his country into the hands of the Pope, he harassed and oppressed his subjects with a heavy hand; until at last *the nation*, in the persons of the bishops, nobles, and knights, rose as one man, and compelled this

monster, at the point of the sword, and after a long struggle of three years, to sign that Great Charter which has been the glory of this country in the past, and will be the beacon to light all future ages of law-loving and law-abiding Britons to further liberties.

ACTION OF THE BARONS.

The struggle was long and severe. The obstacles to overcome were great and difficult. The barons, after being several times deceived and often threatened, declared war against the King and occupied Bedford, London, and other places, while John was paying money to the Pope to take off the interdict and excommunicate the nobles. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, headed the movement. Though threatened with excommunication by the Pope, his spiritual master, and with imprisonment by John, his temporal one, he courageously braved the fury of the one and the threats of the other, rather than give up the people's cause. Though a priest, he was before everything an *Englishman*, and one feels proud to belong to a nation which can boast such men for leaders. All honour to them !

At length, deserted by every one, his mean spirit humbled by the determined attitude of the people, John consented to sign the Charter, and, after more equivocation, a meeting was arranged to take place at Runnymede (a green plain between Staines and Windsor, on the banks of the Thames), and *here*, headed by Archbishop Langton, six other bishops, *all* the barons, and 2,000 knights, under the free sky, "The Temple of God," this victory of freedom was won!—the solemn act was performed whose beneficial effects will descend to the remotest ages. To us English of to-day that event is of the utmost interest, far surpassing that of battles or conquests.

In the green meadows by the Thames, tyranny was crushed; modern liberty was born ! and we, as a people, have to thank those public leaders, the ancestors of the *nobles* of England. Magna Charta was a great act. Its provisions are of universal application, its benefits were for all, rich and poor—peer and peasant, and like a good tree in a fruitful soil, it continues to bless all under its shade.

MAGNA CHARTA.

Lord Chatham, speaking in the House of Lords (Jan. 9, 1770) on this subject, said :—

"It is to your ancestors, my lords—it is to the English Barons, that we are indebted for the laws and constitution which we possess ; they did not confine it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a common blessing to the whole people."

Sir James Macintosh, describing this transaction (vol. 1, pp. 221-2), says :—

"Whoever, in any future age or unborn nation, may admire the felicity of the expedient which converted the power of taxation into the shield of liberty, by which discretionary and secret imprisonment was rendered impracticable, and portions of the people were trained to exercise a larger share of judicial power than was ever allotted to them in any other civilized state, in such manner as to secure, instead of endangering, public tranquility—whoever exults at the spectacle of enlightened and independent assemblies, who, under the eye of a well-informed nation, discuss and determine the laws and policy likely to make communities great and happy—whoever is capable of comprehending all the effects of such institutions with all their possible improvements upon the mind and genius of a people, is surely bound to speak with reverential gratitude of the authors of the Great Charter. To have produced it, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England on the esteem of mankind. Her Bacons and Shakespeares, her Miltons and Newtons, with all the truths they have revealed, and all the generous virtue which they have inspired, are of inferior value when compared with the subjection of men and their rulers to the principles of justice; if indeed it be not more true that these mighty spirits *could not have been formed* except under equal laws, nor roused to full activity without the influence of that spirit which the Great Charter breathed over their forefathers."

De Lolme says :—

"All the objects for which men naturally wish to live in a state of Society were settled in its various articles.

"The judicial authority was regulated.

"The person and property of the individual were secured.

"The safety of the merchant and stranger were provided for.

"The higher class of citizens *gave up* a number of oppressive privileges which they had long accustomed themselves to look upon as their undoubted rights.

"All possessors of lands took the engagement to establish on behalf of their tenants and vassals the *same liberties* which they demanded from the King.

"The implements of tillage (tools) were secured to the labourer (bondsmen), and for the *first time* in the annals of the world a civil war was terminated by making stipulations in favour of those unfortunate men (labourers)."—*Coul. Hist.*, p. 277.

Sir E. Creasy says :—

"The Greater Charter is rich with clauses which have for their object the interests of the *nation as a whole*. It provides for the *pure*, the *speedy*, the *fired* and *uniform* administration of Justice. It prohibits arbitrary imprisonment and arbitrary punishment of any kind. It places the person and property of every freeman under the sacred protection of free and equal law."—*Hist. Eng. Con.*, pp. 129-30.

No monument marks the place where this great work was achieved, though no single spot in this country so well deserves one; and should a fitting memorial ever be raised, the words of the poet Akenside would be a suitable inscription—

"Thou, who the verdant plain dost traverse here,
While Thames, among his willows from thy view
Retires : O stranger, stay thee, and the scene
Around contemplate well. This is the place
Where England's ancient barons, clad in arms,
And stern with conquest, from their tyrant king
(Then rendered tame) did challenge and secure
The Charter of thy freedom. Pass not on
Till thou hast bless'd their memory, and paid
Those thanks which God appointed the reward
Of public virtue. And if chance thy house
Salute thee with a father's honoured name,
Go, call thy sons : instruct them what a debt
They owe their ancestors ; and make them swear
To pay it, by transmitting down entire
Those sacred rights to which themselves were born."

EARLY HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT.

The present constitution of Parliament dates from about the 49th of Henry III., say from 1266, there being writs extant from that date. Blackstone says (sec. 142), "From 1066 till about 1225 the Lords were the only legislators."

After that date the Commons were occasionally summoned, till, in the year 1266, they became a regular part of the legislature. For some considerable time after this both bodies sat in the same chamber; not mixing in debate, nor making amendments to each other's proposals, for very often the Lords made the laws, while the Commons were mere spectators and listeners; and there are instances since this date when laws have been made, and the consent of the Commons has not even been asked.

ORIGIN OF HOUSE OF LORDS.

Respecting the origin of the House of Lords, it has, like the Monarchy, the Church, and other institutions, grown up from early times into its present form. Its earliest stage seems to have been the Saxon "Witan," which was essentially an aristocratic body; and not, as some suppose, "an assembly of villagers met under a tree."

On the contrary, it was the Great Council of the wise men of the nation, as its name implies; summoned and presided over by the king. It consisted of the bishops, earls, thanes, and other prominent men. Its business was to make the laws, vote the taxes (of which they paid the greater part), and to advise the king as to the making of war or peace, which advice he was bound to follow. This assembly was also the Supreme Court of Justice, somewhat as our House of Lords is at the present day.

There was not in those times any middle class, nearly the whole of the community being dependent upon the earls or thanes; hence the necessity for separate representatives for the Commons was not so great, because the interests both of Lords and Commons were identical, each class being *dependent* upon the other.

After the Norman Conquest (according to Sir E. Creasy, p. 186) the Great Council, which made the laws, consisted of the *great barons*, or those who were tenants-in-chief of William —*only* those had a right to attend. These afterwards became divided into two classes, of greater and lesser tenants, for we find from chap. 14 of Magna Charta, as to summoning the Great Council these words—"We (the king) shall cause the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons to be separately summoned by our letters, and we shall cause our sheriffs and bailiffs to summon generally all others who hold of us in chief."

WHY HEREDITARY ?

We thus see, in the words of the Charter, the clear origin of our Upper House of Parliament, consisting of lords spiritual and temporal. As the temporal peerage was thus a body composed originally of the most powerful landowners in the kingdom, it naturally became an **hereditary peerage, without any express enactment to that effect.** This will appear clear if we call to mind that the power of devising (*i.e.*, willing) real estate *did not exist* for many ages after the grant of the Great Charter; and, although alienation with the consent of the superior lord, and upon payment to him of a fine, was permitted by law, yet the entire transfer of large estates by such means could *seldom or never* have occurred, for this simple and obvious reason, that there were no wealthy capitalists to come forward and buy the whole lands of a mighty but impoverished baron at a single bargain. As, therefore, the estates of the great barons descended generally from heir to heir, and as each heir, on coming into possession, had the same rights as his predecessor, viz., those of a great baron of the realm, the idea of hereditary descent became gradually associated with the *status* of a peer.

And this theory of the *descent of peerage* at last prevailed so far, so as to be extended to a new species of peers, to men who held no baronial possessions, but whom our kings summoned by writ to meet and consult (in the Great Council) among the prelates and chief men of the realm.

Having thus sketched the origin of the House of Lords, let us now enquire into its composition, powers, and rights, as it at present exists.

COMPOSITION OF HOUSE OF LORDS.

The House of Lords is made up of several different orders of nobility, and may be enumerated, as follows, in order of precedence (January, 1907) :—

Princes of the Royal Blood ...	2	Bishops ...	...	...	...	24
Archbishops ...	2	Barons ...	...	...	...	271
Dukes ...	29	Scotch Representative Peers...	16			
Marquises ...	35	Irish	"	"	...	28
Earls ...	164					
Viscounts ...	45					
				Total	...	616

NOTE.—These figures include 13 minors who cannot vote, leaving the net voting strength of the House of Lords at 603 members.

The 16 Scottish peers are elected for each separate Parliament, while the 28 Irish peers, and the 26 bishops and archbishops are each selected for life.

PRINCES OF THE BLOOD.

Of the above, the two princes of the blood seldom or never take part in debate or try to influence public questions in any way. It is to their honour and credit that they exercise such self-denial—that they have the good sense to abstain from mixing themselves up with political matters rather than give offence to any of their fellow-countrymen, or wound the susceptibilities of any political party. So that generally, because of this willing abstention, they have fewer political privileges than the poorest householder in the land.

How unlike the princes of other foreign reigning families, who are often sending out political manifestoes, and disturbing the public mind. Again, thirteen of the above peers are minors, and are for the time excluded from taking any part in the business of the House of Lords. It therefore follows that the number of active politicians in that House may be set down at about 601.

POLITICAL DIVISION OF HOUSE OF LORDS.

If we divide these we find that there are about 354 Conservatives, 107 Liberal Unionists; 98 Liberals, 1 Nationalist, and 41 whose politics are not stated. An objection is sometimes made against the House of Lords that it is *too Conservative*, and therefore ought to be abolished. That objection is often made by those who do not know what Conservatism is. In the opinion of many that is a reason for its continuance. Though it be Conservative, it is certainly not the fault of the Liberals that it is so; for we find they have done their best to make it a *Liberal assembly*. From 1830 to December, 1906, there have been created 419 peers, and of this number 238 have been made by the Radicals and only 181 by the Conservatives. These facts ought to be seriously pondered by the Radicals themselves, and the question asked: Why is the House of Lords Conservative?

REASONS FOR CONSERVATISM OF HOUSE OF LORDS.

The question is a very natural one, and deserves a complete answer; but the scope of the present paper will not permit an extended reply. One or two reasons, however, I will venture to give. When a "Liberal" member is returned to the House of Commons it is usually by the influence of Liberal and Radical Clubs and caucuses. He is for the time, to a large extent, *their servant* to carry out their orders, more than that of the whole of his constituents. He is little more than a delegate.

Mr. Goldwin Smith—(Radical and Gladstonian)—truly describes this class of M.P. when he says:—

"What then is the House of Commons? Does it retain any feature of a national council or even of a deliberative assembly?

"Is it anything but a cockpit of faction? Are its debates anything but factious wrangles? Do not its manners plainly bespeak its degradation? What is its character even as a machine for doing business? What is worst of all, it has totally lost its independence—while it arrogates to itself omnipotence, it has itself become the slave of the caucus * * * * *

"Members hardly keep up the pretence of voting according to their consciences. They openly avow their bondage. The application of the screw has always been growing more and more severe till, at last, the representative has been reduced to the level, not only of a delegate, but of a political messenger."—*Nineteenth Century*, March, 1894, pp. 363, 364.

He has, accordingly, to trim his sails, to modify his opinions in accordance with the views of the Liberal 300 or the Radical 600, as the case may be. After a long public service as member for the illustrious and ancient borough of "Bribery-cum-Ballot," he is elevated into the serener atmosphere of the woolsack, as "Baron Battersea" (with apologies to Mr. John Burns, M.P.). Then having no longer the dread of the terrible captain of the local 300 before his eyes, with his eternal directions as to *how* he must vote, or the inevitable complaint of "*our committee*," he begins to breathe more freely—to have an opinion of his own, and gradually to consider constitutional questions from a different standpoint. He takes a more statesmanlike view of things, and looks at the harmonious working of our grand old Constitution with an eye of affection and reverence, rather than with a desire to pull it to pieces. He mixes with and enjoys the society of men renowned for their talents in law, literature, and science; this, with the frequent listening to the voice of his Sovereign, and the sight of the Throne from a nearer standpoint, has a tendency to give him larger and broader views of the importance of the State of which he forms a part; a wish to cherish those institutions whose beneficent working he sees around him; and gradually, almost unconsciously, he imbibes those Conservative feelings which all real and true Conservatives possess.

WHAT IS CONSERVATISM ?

Conservatism is simply the desire to *conserve* intact those grand old institutions which have been a glory to this kingdom in the past, and, if rightly used, will continue to be a blessing in the future. These, therefore, are some of the influences which act on our late member for the venerable borough of "Bribery-cum-Ballot," and which gradually wean him from those reckless individuals who first did him the honour to make him a statesman. He becomes, like the majority of the gentlemen around him, a lover of his country

with its institutions *as they are*, and not as some wild crocheteers (with nothing to lose, but everything to gain from changes) would have them be.

HEREDITARY CHARACTER OF HOUSE OF LORDS— OBJECTION TO.

An objection we often hear brought against the House of Lords is that it is *hereditary*, that it is a body of irresponsible men, who sit in Parliament merely because they are the “sons of their fathers.” This objection to be valid should be true, whereas it is only partially so. We admit at once that the titles of a large number of the members of the House of Lords are hereditary; and that the succession to those titles and seats is vested in their respective heirs. But what remedy do the advocates of abolition propose? *Selection*, they say, is the proper method, and the only way in which the House of Lords should be formed. If we look at the history of this House in recent times we shall find that this method has been largely employed. First, there are the twenty-six archbishops and bishops, then the forty-four Irish and Scottish peers, all selected from the best of their class.

There are in the present House of Lords 169 members who have served in the House of Commons, and have therefore been selected by the votes of the people as fit persons to sit in Parliament, which gives a total of 239 persons in the present House of Lords who have entered Parliament by virtue of

SELECTION.

If these figures teach us anything it is this, that *selection* plays a large part in the formation of our present House of Lords; but because it does not form the *whole*, as some violent people desire, are we prepared to upset the country and endanger its safety merely to carry out an idea, which, if developed to its fullest extent, would probably not work any better (if as well) as our present system?

Let us look at this matter a little closer.

Since 1868 there have been created by three Liberal Premiers and three Conservative Premiers 256 new peers. The numerous survivors among these do not owe their position in the House of Lords to the fact that “they are the sons of their fathers”—they were **selected**.

There are also the 16 Scottish and the 28 Irish Peers; these have been **elected** because of their fitness as legislators and statesmen.

You have also the 26 Archbishops and Bishops; these have not been *born* Peers; they have been **selected** by both Conservative and Liberal Premiers because they represent all that is best in the religious and educational life of the nation.

There are also about four Lords of Appeal—selected by both political parties from the highest legal authorities in the land—whose experience and knowledge would make them of great value in any deliberative assembly.

All these form a very large body of peers—not one of whom owes his position to the “accident of birth” as the Radicals say.

HEREDITARY PRINCIPLE.

But let us glance still more closely at this “hereditary principle.” Reference has already been made to the growth of this principle in dealing with the origin of the House of Lords. It was then, and for many generations, *the only means* which could have been employed to secure the constitution of the “Great Council.” No other kind of representation was practicable or possible—(1) Because the barons and bishops were the natural leaders of the people, temporal and spiritual. (2) They embodied the collective wisdom of the nation; and (3) their material interests were the most important in the country. Therefore, as a natural consequence, *their rights, privileges, and duties became transferred to their respective heirs along with their estates.*

THE REPRESENTATIVE PRINCIPLE.

To many politicians this principle seems to be as *sacred* as the one with which we formerly endowed our monarchs, viz., “the divine right of kings.”

A statesman dealing with the subject in the House of Commons in 1888 showed that most of our constitutional arrangements were not founded on that principle.

The Throne was not representative, but *hereditary*.

The Cabinet was *selected* by one man—the Premier.

The Prime Minister himself was *selected*.

The Judges were each and all *nominated*.

All the Ambassadors—in whose care was the safety of the country at Foreign Courts—were *selected*.

The House of Lords at that time contained:—

23 Cabinet Ministers or ex-Cabinet Ministers.

4 Viceroys of India.

6 Viceroys of Ireland.

4 Governors-General of Canada.

8 Other Colonial Governors.

6 Ambassadors.

2 Speakers of the House of Commons.

194 Peers, former members of House of Commons.

78 Members or ex-Members of the Government.

8 Judges.

157 Peers, who had served in Army or Navy.

All of whom were **representative** in the best sense of the word, but not representative in the sense that they had been

selected to their respective offices and duties by a Committee or Caucus of the type of the “*three tailors of Tooley Street*.”

CREATION OF NEW PEERS.

Then we find that since the year 1760 there have been created about 850 new peers, or 232 more than the present number of the whole House. The balance is accounted for by extinctions. Since 1820, over three-fourths of the total members of the House of Lords have been created. Even if we take the reign of our late Queen there were 373 new peers created, without counting about 85 additional bishops, making a total of 458, or about two-thirds the total number in the House.

Mr. Gladstone created a new peer for every **six** weeks he held office.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman has created a new peer for every **three** weeks he has held office (September, 1896)—a record!—not bad for a peer-hater!

PEERAGES CREATED SINCE 1830.

The number of additions to the House of Lords made since 1830 is shown by the following table:—

Under Liberal Ministries.	No.	Under Conservative Ministries.	No.
Earl Grey, 1830-1834	37	Sir Robert Peel, 1834-1835 ...	6
Viscount Melbourne, 1835-1841	46	Sir Robert Peel, 1841-1846 ...	6
Lord John Russell, 1846-1852 ...	12	Earl of Derby, 1852	3
Earl of Aberdeen, 1853-1855 ...	1	Earl of Derby, 1858-1859 ...	10
Lord Palmerston, 1855-1858 ...	12	Earl of Derby, 1866-1868 ...	7
Lord Palmerston, 1859-1865 ...	15	Mr. Disraeli, 1868	9
Earl Russell, 1865-1866 ...	8	Earl of Beaconsfield, 1874-1880	29
Mr. Gladstone, 1868-1874 ...	39	Marquis of Salisbury, 1885-6 ...	11
Mr. Gladstone, 1880-1885 ...	28	Marquis of Salisbury, 1886-1892	38
Mr. Gladstone, 1886	8	Marquis of Salisbury, 1895-1902	44
Mr. Gladstone, 1892-1894 ...	11	Mr. Balfour, 1902-5	18
Earl of Rosebery, 1894-5 ...	5		
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 1905-6	16		
Total created under Liberal Ministries (42 years) ...	238	Total created under Conserva- tive Ministries (34 years) ...	181

NOTE.—These do not include about 85 Bishops selected by various Premiers.

THE THRONE HEREDITARY.

The *Throne* of this country, as far as this principle is concerned, has occupied an identical position with that of the House of Lords—it is hereditary. The present reigning family has no other right to it.

Throne and peerage both are hereditary. It is a notable fact that both inside and outside the House of Commons those persons who show an animus against Royalty are the same class of people who show their hatred to the House of Lords. They sometimes hiss the National Anthem—(see Liberal Meeting at Portsmouth, February 14, 1894), and also cry “down

with the House of Lords," showing that in the minds of such persons destruction of all our stable and cherished institutions, such as the Throne and the House of Lords, is part and parcel of their political aspirations.

"To give freedom to a nation governed by an hereditary monarch, an intermediate body must exist between the sovereign and the popular assembly," is the opinion of a distinguished French writer.

It is a remarkable fact, and an object lesson as well, that the Monarchy and the House of Lords fell at the same time, and were restored at the same time.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

In matters of this kind there is no other principle short of Republicanism, or out-and-out Communism. Even Oliver Cromwell, though he had destroyed the monarchy and the House of Lords,* found that orderly government could not be carried on without it, for he *nominated* his son Richard to succeed him in the duties and responsibilities of Protector, wishing to make the office *hereditary* in his family.

And why, we may ask, should this principle not be acted upon? Is there any more injustice in Earl Percy inheriting the position, wealth, rights, and duties of his father, the Duke of Northumberland, than there is in the Prince of Wales inheriting the position, rights, and duties of His Majesty King Edward VII., his father. Do they not both stand upon the same ground and involve the same principle?

The common affairs of every-day life are also carried on and regulated by this principle. Every landowner, merchant, millowner, and tradesman leaves to his son or heir, as a *condition* of inheritance, along with his property or business, the responsibilities, duties, and engagements into which he himself has entered, and his heir can only enjoy the one by engaging to fulfil and perform the other. It is thus with the members of the House of Lords. Therefore, when a man knows beforehand what his responsibilities and duties will be, he receives as a rule the education and training necessary to fit him for the post he is destined to occupy, and is not pitchforked into it by *chance*, as many members of the House of Commons are.

BISHOPS IN HOUSE OF LORDS.

Another reason urged for the abolition of the House of Lords is, "that it provides seats for the *bishops*." "Why," it is asked, "should the chief ministers of the Church of England be chosen for seats in the House of Lords, while no similar place is provided for the clergy of the other religious denominations?"

This question looks rather like envy, while the reason annexed to it is absurd. To disestablish the whole 600 members

* See note, p. 78

of the House of Lords because there are 26 bishops amongst them looks rather like *killing* a man to cure him of the tooth-ache. Are the bishops such terrible characters that their presence pollutes the atmosphere of the Upper House? I may appeal with confidence to anyone who knows them for an answer.

OBJECTIONS TO BISHOPS ANSWERED.

Then, again, the bishops do not sit there on the hereditary principle—they therefore meet the views of those who advocate selection—for they are nominated by the Liberal or Conservative Premier of the day, as the case may be.

If it were true that the bishops are chosen from among and over the heads of the other religious denominations, and provided with seats in the House of Lords, perhaps there might be reasonable ground for enquiry. But is it true? By no means. Blackstone says (sec. 156), “The bishops sit there by right of their baronies, being called to the house by the same title as any other baron.”

The bishops had seats in the House of Lords hundreds of years before there were any other denominations in this country; their titles are therefore hundreds of years older than any of the sects—nay, they are older than those of any other class of nobles, older than the formation of the Kingdom of England and so older than the monarchy itself. So that to say they were chosen to represent the Church of England from *among*, and to the *prejudice of*, the other sects is simply stating what is untrue, and, in the way it is usually put, is dishonest and unfair.

These gentlemen who are so anxious to reform the House of Lords, by excluding the religious element from that assembly, have often brought bills into the House of Commons to attain that object, but in all cases without success.

Two reasons may be given for these failures; 1st, the House of Commons has no more control over the House of Lords or its members, than the Radical Party has over the next eclipse of the moon; 2nd, although the House of Commons has often been composed of a majority of Liberal members, their “education” has not yet progressed sufficiently far on the “path of destruction” to induce them to destroy the oldest, best, and most stable portion of the House of Lords by excluding the bishops.

In 1834 (March 13), a bill was introduced into the House of Commons to exclude the bishops, but although there was a large Liberal majority, the bill was thrown out.

The voting was:

FOR	For exclusion	58
AGAINST	Against exclusion	125
MAJORITY	Majority	67

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Another similar effort was made (April 26, 1836).

The voting was:—

For exclusion	53
Against exclusion	...	...	...	...	180
					<hr/>
Majority	...	...			127

Another attempt was made (February 10, 1837).

The voting was:—

For exclusion ...	...	...	...	...	92
Against exclusion	...	...	...	...	197
					<hr/>
Majority	...	...			105

A further attempt with this object was made (June 21, 1870).

The voting was:—

For exclusion ...	...	...	...	...	102
Against exclusion	...	...	...	...	158
					<hr/>
Majority	...	...			56

And even after these attempts the Radicals are not happy. For the comfort of these misguided souls, let me quote short extracts from two speeches which even the modern Radical ought to treat with some degree of respect:—

Mr. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., said (House of Commons, June 21, 1870):—

"If there is to be a House of Lords in this country, *as there ever has been*, it is well that that House of Lords should be as strong as possible. It is desirable that we should see collected in that assembly all the elements of strength, and among the elements I know none so important as diversity. You cannot well afford, in an hereditary House of Lords, to part with elements of weight and power which that chamber derives from the presence of the bishops. * * * *

"The bench of bishops has contributed to the intellectual force of discussions in the House of Lords in a proportion far transcending the numbers by which that body is represented there. To some extent they *represent the popular element* there.

"The very fact of such a number of men being there—by their merits, by their character, by their services, not by subserviency, not by base compliance—does constitute, in no ignoble sense, the presence of a popular element in the House of Lords. It is an element which at any rate comes from the deep and broad strata of the community, and which contributes vigour to that assembly."

Lord Rosebery said (House of Lords, 1884):—

"We have in this House twenty-six bishops, every one of whom must have won his way to his position in this House by sheer merit and by hard work. It is perfectly impossible to say that these twenty-six eminent individuals are not by reason of their past career *an ornament to any assembly*."

PRESENT FORM OF GOVERNMENT BEST.

We have the privilege to live in a land which has existed as a kingdom for over 1,000 years. Its institutions have grown, its liberties have expanded, along with the life and progress of the nation, to their present beautiful proportions. If to-day, after the great experience we have had, we had to construct a new constitution, to make a new form of

government, perhaps we might not make it in every detail identical with the present one: we might modify some portions and introduce slight changes in others: but, in whatever manner our ideas might be embodied, it would be impossible to form a system which, in its main features, would work better than our present one.

“OUR” SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT GROWN UP WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS.

We should also remember, in looking at this question, that our present system *has grown up*—it has been modified and adapted after the experience of ages—having been tested for hundreds of years. It has been found to work well, while all the rest of the nations around us have been floundering about, experimenting, trying, seeking, and *failing* to find a system of government as stable, as secure, and as *free* as our own. Ours is the growth of experience—and to substitute any new theoretical constitution, however nice it might look upon paper, for the one which has been practically tested, would be to throw away the *substance* and grasp at the *shadow*.

CHARACTERS OF BISHOPS.

But why object to bishops? Are they not selected from amongst a class of men, the best *educated*, most *experienced*, most *enlightened*, in the country? Are they not themselves men of the highest culture and attainments—men of large views and practical knowledge? For example, the Episcopal Bench has, in quite recent times, contained at least five ex-headmasters. They are as follows:—

Archbishop Benson	...	Wellington.
Bishop Temple	...	Rugby.
Bishop Lloyd	...	Bangor.
Bishop Riddings	...	Winchester.
Bishop Percival	...	Clifton and Rugby.

If we include University “dons” we must add at least eight more to the scholastic Bishops of recent times:—

Bishop Westcott	...	Cambridge Professor.
Bishop King	...	Oxford Professor.
Bishop Jayne	...	Principal, Lampeter.
Bishop Stubbs	...	Oxford Professor.
Bishop Wordsworth	...	Oxford Tutor.
Bishop Perowne	...	Cambridge Tutor.
Bishop Paget	...	Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.
Bishop Ryle	...	President of Queens’ College, Cambridge.

Are they not called upon, in the administration of their respective dioceses, to govern and direct large numbers of men, and manage various corporations and interests? Are they not each at the head of an army of gentlemen (clergymen) who are constantly engaged in visiting, advising, and ministering to the wants of the working and other classes of the community? Do they not know more of, and see more of, the wants and wishes of the people generally than any other class of men? Their

opportunities for gaining this knowledge are greater—because of the influence and association of the clergy with the people—than can be those of any other class. Will anyone say that the Bishop of London does not know more of the wants, wishes, and difficulties of the people of his diocese than almost any other person in it? The same may be said in general of *all* the bishops. Finally, as an evidence of their fitness, have they not constantly fulfilled their duties as legislators in a manner honourable to themselves, and highly satisfactory to the nation at large? Have they not often stood to the front, at the risk of their own lives, when the liberties of the people have been at stake? I need not remind readers of our history of the glorious stand made by the *seven bishops*, when *everybody else was afraid*, in opposition to that liberty-crushing tyrant James II.

SPIRITUAL DUTIES.

One further objection we will notice—it is this. Say the grumblers—"Let the bishops attend to their *spiritual* duties, leave politics alone, and they will have enough to do." No doubt it is perfectly true that if everybody would attend more to his spiritual duties, letting many things with which he does meddle alone, the world would be no worse for it. There is an old saying about reform that, "if each person would reform *one*, no other reforms would be required." There is also an extract from an Old Book, which used to be fashionable—something about "taking the beam out of your own eye"—which ought to be strongly recommended to these faultfinders who can see so much wrong with the bishops, and who object to leaven politics with religion.

But I contend, in reply to the above objection, that a bishop *is attending* to his spiritual duties when he is legislating at St. Stephen's just as much as when he is administering the sacraments in a church, or visiting the deathbed of a parishioner. To teach men to do justly, love honesty, and live soberly, by making laws to enable them to do so, is, in every sense, a spiritual work. To inculcate reverence for the Sabbath, hatred of perjury, lying, and stealing, can be and are as effectually taught through the laws which are made at Westminster as in the pulpit of any church or chapel. So that the notion of bishops *not* attending to their spiritual duties while in their places in Parliament is simply a narrow and contracted view of what spiritual work is, and how it is performed.

Depend upon it, those who object to see such men as the bishops for legislators, under the mistaken notion of religious equality, would, perhaps unconsciously, soon be the means of opening the door to bad laws and vicious legislation, which might take ages to eradicate. The very fact of such men as the bishops sitting there and legislating for the people is some

guarantee at least that the measures they support will have religion and justice for their basis; and their presence in Parliament is a public acknowledgment that *religion* has not, with the so-called march of progress, been entirely banished from our government and laws.

OBJECTION—FEUDAL SYSTEM.

Before further enlarging upon the functions of the House of Lords, we will briefly refer to *one* or *two* other objections. We are told that the action and position of the aristocracy is part of the "Feudal System"—that "it is degrading for an enlightened nation like ours to be governed by a system which was introduced from the Continent in the dark ages, by a conqueror who imposed it upon his unwilling subjects;"—with much more to the same purport. It is a most remarkable fact, and worth remembering, that you never hear this kind of language in Parliament itself. The reason is obvious. *There* the Feudal System is thoroughly well understood, and anyone talking in that style would lose his character for sanity; he would be at once put down as a candidate for a lunatic asylum. No! this kind of bombast is reserved for the edification and amusement of semi-revolutionary, Home Rule, and other meetings. In these places the Feudal System is *not* well understood, so there is little danger of contradiction.

But every reader of history knows that the Feudal System has been abolished in *all its details* for hundreds of years. By that system a man was bound in the closest manner to his immediate lord (*i.e.*, landlord). If the lord rebelled, the tenant was bound to rebel. If the lord were taken prisoner, the tenant was bound to find money for his ransom. If the lord's son was knighted, the tenant was bound to pay all the expenses. If the lord's daughter got married, the tenant had to find her a dowry. If the tenant died without children, the lord seized his goods. If a tenant was under age, the lord compelled him (or her) to marry whoever he (the lord) pleased, and against the tenant's will. Very often when a lord disposed of his lands, he sold all the labourers along with it. &c., &c., &c.

Would anyone outside Bedlam believe that we are living under this system now? What would be the result, for example, if Lord Derby did any of the things I have named? Why—apartments in the nearest prison—and *serve him right!* Living under the Feudal System forsooth! Why, every tenant was bound to his lord to the full extent of his life and property. Is anybody so bound now? And yet these sensational people, who *trade on the credulity* of the working classes, wish to persuade us that we are still living under that system, which was more horrible than the slavery abolished by the late President Lincoln.

OBJECTIONS TO PEERS AS LANDOWNERS.

"The Peers," we are also told, "are landowners, and have different and opposite interests to the bulk of the people."

"There's a good deal of sin outside," said Uriah Heap; "there's nothing but sin everywhere—except *here* (laying his hand on his heart)."—*David Copperfield*.

As a party the Radicals have been for many years making attacks upon the Constitution—upon the Church—upon the House of Lords, and upon the Throne. They have accused the House of Lords of being "obstructives," "incapables," "irresponsible persons." Some Radicals call them "noodles."

The Liberal Conference at Leeds said: "The House of Lords consisted of land and acres—instead of mind and brain." They also hinted that their capabilities were "to brew large quantities of beer."

Mr. John Burns, M.P., in a recent speech (February 11th, 1894), in his usual "*gentlemanly*" style, stated that the Peers were no better than **Pauper lunatics**. We pay Mr. John Burns £2,000 a year to sit with some of these "lunatics" in a Radical Cabinet.

His distinguished Welsh colleague, Mr. Lloyd George, M.P., also at £2,000 a year salary, the other day compared the Peers—20 of whom are his colleagues in the Ministry—to "defacers of the coinage!" to "coiners!" to "dead-heads!" and other specimens of Radical "Billingsgate." "Wreckers" has become quite a common term with the Radical politicians and scribblers to use against the Peers, and—worst crime of all, "A house of landlords." Yet what do we find is the fact? A late Radical Ministry, 1880-85, contained more peers and relatives of peers than probably any other Ministry of modern times. Of the members of the Cabinet, *ten* were peers and *three* were relatives of peers. Of the remaining forty-five members of the Ministry, *twenty-four* were peers, and *nine* were related to members of the peerage. So that out of the 58 members composing the Ministry, *forty-six* were peers and peers' sons, while only twelve were mere commoners.

In the Radical Government of 1894 there were twenty-two peers, receiving £74,000 per year in salaries, while the Cabinet contained seven peers—including a peer Premier. If, therefore the peers are "drones," who "toil not, neither do they spin," why in the name of common sense and common honesty do these Radical Governments employ them in the most important, delicate, and arduous offices of the State? Why do they waste the public money in paying their official salaries if these lords are incapables, noodles, and drones? Let them answer these questions to their followers, whom they dishonestly mislead in these matters.

It is only to pander to the prejudices of their Socialist and revolutionary supporters, that the members of the present government join in the cry of "Down with the House of Lords!" for in practice they create more peerages than any other party in the State, and find more pay and places for them. Then, there is the charge of being

LANDLORDS.

It was not till the advent of Radicalism that to be a landlord was synonymous with crime, to be punished with confiscation. Look at the facts. Eight members of the late 1880-85 Liberal Cabinet owned 150,000 acres of land, at a gross rental of £297,000 per annum, giving an average acreage of 19,000, and an average rental of £37,000 to each. Again, twenty-two other members of that Ministry owned 841,700 acres of land, at a gross annual rental of £376,100, giving an average acreage of 38,260 acres, and of £17,000 rental to each person. Further, twenty-nine members (mostly peers) of the 1894 Liberal Government were of the landowning class, while twenty-two of them owned 737,000 acres of land at an annual rental of £408,000.

PEER-LANDLORDS IN RADICAL MINISTRIES.

Look for a moment at *every* Radical Ministry of modern times.

Mr. Gladstone's Ministry of 1886 contained 29 peers—six of whom were in the Cabinet. They received in salaries from the taxpayer £73,000 per annum. Fifteen of them were "wicked" landlords, owning 573,000 acres of land (an average of 38,000 acres each), at a gross rental of £351,000 per year (£23,000 per year each). That is a fair sample of "wickedness."

The next Radical Ministry under Mr. W. E. Gladstone (1892-4) was equally distinguished for the number of wicked peer landlords it contained. There were in this Ministry 24 peers (six of whom were in the Cabinet). These 24 peers were paid salaries, out of the taxpayers' pockets, to the tune of about £69,000 a year. Thirteen out of these twenty-four "wicked" Radical Ministers owned land to the extent of **576,000** acres, for which they demanded from the tenants £333,000 a year—or an average of £25,600 per year to each of these Radical "lunatic" landlords.

Lord Rosebery's Ministry was the next on the scene (1894-5). These political saints only had twenty-two peers in their company, a very moderate number—*seven* of them were, however, in the Cabinet—but they made up for their moderation by the extra demands they made on the taxpayers. These twenty-two modest Radical peers only demanded from Lord Rosebery that the taxpayers should pay them the small sum

of £74,000 a year in salaries—a mere bagatelle where a Radical “economist” is concerned. Of course it was paid, and they smiled—while the taxpayer grinned and bore it as well as he could.

Thirteen out of these twenty-two peer-Ministers owned 604,000 acres of land—an average of 46,000 acres each—and demanded £315,000 per year rent—making an average for these 13 modest Radicals of £24,200 each.

Some Radicals, like Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., say, “Rent is robbery.” There must be an awful lot of “robbers” among Radical Ministers—eh?

“Oh! but,” say the latest converts to *economy*, “we have reformed since the ‘mandate’ of 1906.” Have we? Let us see. The present Ministry of all virtues contains **twenty** peers—(“lunatics”—) who help to keep Mr. John Burns and Mr. Lloyd George in order—a rather stiff job.

The taxpayers have to pay these twenty “noodles” £56,500 a year in salaries. Six of them are in the Cabinet. Twelve out of these twenty “drones”—as the Radical likes to call them—own 307,000 acres of land—about 25,600 acres each. They have the “cheek” to ask £367,000 a year in rent for this land, making about £30,600 a year for each of these twelve “drones”—sitting “cheek by jowl” in a Radical Ministry, with such specimens of democratic purity as Mr. John Burns, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Winston Churchill.

A truly happy family! How they must smile at each other to think how neatly they have deluded the **Radical voter**.

As an illustration, here is the “graceful” language of the Right Hon. John Burns, M.P., Secretary of the Local Government Board in the present Ministry:—

“The Gilded Chamber, or the Guilty Chamber if they preferred that name, was no longer the stronghold of a high type of statesmanship, but was the meeting-place of the representatives of property, reaction, wealth, landlordism, and the company promoter, always seeking an opportunity to conspire against the best interests of the people * * * * The House of Lords was the Juggernaut acting in the interests of the railway companies, but the House of Lords would soon learn that the English people of to-day were not the *brutal, ignorant, apathetic, enslaved, drunken helots* they were a century ago.

“The country which had sent King Charles to sleep without his head would stand no veto from Queen Guelph (Victoria) or Lord Salisbury.”—*Times*, Feb. 12, 1894, p. 10.

Is it criminal to be a landlord? Then the members of the late and present Radical Ministries are the greatest *criminals*; if not, then they are the greatest *hypocrites*, for joining in these communistic and revolutionary cries. They pander to the vices and hatred of their discontented followers to get their votes, while they themselves belong to the very class against which they have encouraged these attacks. We know them to be insincere! Would any honest man—or any honest party—get votes, places, and power on the strength of a pretended attack upon the House of Lords and the peerage, while

at the same time, when comfortably in office, they employ those very peers to do the work of the state, because they cannot find other men with sufficient brains and capacity to perform it?

LANDLORD AND TENANT.

Suppose for a moment that they are landowners. Does not the land produce the food for the *peer* as well as the *peasant*? Is it not equally the interest of the labourer, farmer, and landlord to get as much produce from the soil as possible? Does the fact of a man possessing £5,000 worth of land make him any worse, or better, than he would be by possessing £5,000 worth of mills or workshops? Do the interests of tenants in the towns, where peers are rarely, if ever, the immediate landlords of the occupiers, get better cared for by the landlord than those of tenant farmers? Are not the working men, in mills and workshops, as hard pressed for money and luxuries as those who work in the field? Let the deputation of unemployed who waited on Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman the other day give an answer. We may venture to say that where one occupying tenant in a town gets any of his rent returned, or receives any aid from his landlord, at least twenty such tenants will receive such help in the country. In short, take matters all round, there is as much consideration, at least, from a peer to his tenants as from a commoner to his; and there is more genuine good feeling, mutual help, and consideration between these two classes of country landlords and their occupying tenants than there is between any two classes of landlord and tenant in the country. This kind of complaint is only got up to throw dust in the eyes of voters at election times, and enable the agitators to live at the public expense.

RESPONSIBILITY OF PEERS.

That the Peers "are an 'irresponsible' body" everyone who will give a moment's consideration to the subject will see to be untrue. It is a fact that they are not responsible to a caucus of 300, like some members of the House of Commons. They are not called over the coals by "our committee" for using their own judgment, as is too often the case there; *but they are answerable to general public opinion, and always give way to that opinion when clearly expressed.* Further, who has greater interest in the peace, prosperity, and general welfare of the country than the Peers? Are there any men who will suffer more from social disturbances than they? Is there a class with more at stake than they? Are not the honour and stability of the country of the utmost importance to *them*? If so, have they not therefore the greatest possible responsibility resting upon them? How, then, can they be irresponsible?

OBJECTION.—PEERS CLOG THE WHEELS OF STATE— OPPOSE THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, &c.

“They are a clog on the wheels of the State,” say others; “they oppose the will of the people as expressed by the House of Commons”; “a minority and oppose the wishes of the majority,” &c. All these different statements mean about the same thing, and one general answer will meet them.

The Peers are by no means a clog on the *State machine*. Their action is as great a benefit to the business of law-making as that of the Commons. We must not forget that The Lords Spiritual and Temporal on the one hand and the Commons on the other are perfectly independent the one of the other. Each has a veto on the acts of the other, and when they exercise that veto they are simply acting upon and within the lines of the Constitution. No one with justice can say that any wrong is being done. Frequently this is lost sight of, and we often impute blame for the failure of some particular pet scheme or other where no blame is really deserved.

INDEPENDENCE OF THE TWO HOUSES.—MEASURES.

When the House of Commons rejects the Bills or amendments of the House of Lords it is acting within its rights, and no one would be justified in blaming them for so doing. On the other hand, the Lords have the same right to reject the proposals of the Commons; while the King, by virtue of his office, has the right, should he choose to exercise it, to refuse his assent to the proposals of both Houses. It is true this right is very seldom exercised (only about once in two hundred years)—the last time the veto was exercised was in 1707. Before they are presented for the Royal signature measures are supposed to have been well threshed into shape in the course of the debates of the two Houses, which have power to alter and amend as they think fit. The Monarch, therefore, has no such choice. He cannot even make the slightest alteration in a Bill—not so much as change a single word. He must accept or reject it entirely, and he very seldom (in fact, never, now-a-days) takes so serious a step as to veto a measure presented to him as approved by the considered judgment of both Houses.

EFFECTS OF INDEPENDENCE.

The independence of the different Houses produces these beneficial results. Every measure gets an independent consideration on its merits by two different classes of men. Neither House can interfere with the debates of the other. Neither House has the right to allude to—either to praise or blame—the proceedings of the other. No recriminations are allowed, which is no doubt the cause of the smooth working of our parliamentary machinery. Each House is sovereign

within its own walls, regulates its own proceedings, rules its own servants, and causes its own orders to be carried out. A measure affecting the procedure of one chamber is never sent to the other for approval. In short, each House is entirely independent of any other power in the realm, for the interference of the Monarch would be resented as an affront just as much as that of *any* outsider.

RIGHTS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

I wish to lay stress upon these facts, for a special reason, viz., when you hear people going about blaming the House of Lords for exercising their constitutional rights; urging the House of Commons to *invade* those rights, by forcing the Lords to comply with measures which may from time to time be proposed; we may conclude that these men are *dangerous* characters, whether they be lecturers, town councillors, parliamentary candidates, or Ministers. They are simply advising revolution, and urging their hearers to do that which, if attempted, might produce civil war.

The proof of the excellency of our constitution is that it is *practical* and *workable*, and its utility is a result of its independence.

OBJECTION.—MINORITY.

As to the charge against the House of Lords of “being a minority and an opponent of the will of the people,” this involves the question of representation and parliamentary government.

“The House of Lords has played a great historical part in the past—it is in the *true sense*—though not in the sense of the House of Commons—a great representative Assembly, representing many of the important elements of prosperity and stability in the country, and constantly recruiting from the ranks of the people new elements of the same kind.”—LORD SELBORNE, at Lord Mayor’s Banquet, August 9th, 1882.

CHARACTER OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Every one who has carefully studied our constitution has come to this conclusion with De Lolme (p. 168), that parliamentary representatives not only represent the particular county or town which sends them, but they also represent the whole body of the nation; it therefore follows that though a gentleman may be sent to Parliament by the votes of a section of the community, immediately he takes his seat in the Imperial Parliament he becomes a representative of the *whole nation*. (He is not a *delegate*, and this is a mistake made by many.)

In this Imperial and national sense, which is also the legal one, the *whole* of the members of *both* Houses—those who sit by the votes of the burgesses, and those who sit by right of their baronies—are parliamentary representatives of, and law-makers for, the *whole people*.

But to descend to a lower and more contracted view of the question, viz., the question of *interests*.

It is the genius of our present Constitution that *interests*, rather than numbers, shall be represented in Parliament.

REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS.

The land, trade, education, each have their separate representation. The two Houses are equally the representatives of these various branches. Each Peer has been elevated to his rank by having a title to a barony conferred upon him, where each of these different interests more or less is concerned.

The manner of becoming possessed of the character of representative is different in the Commons from what it is in the Lords, but the duties of the office are the same.

REPRESENTATION AS DELEGATES.

But even to look at this point in the delegate sense—which, though incorrect, is the view taken by some—it is said that “the House of Commons is the voice and will of the people”; and “*vox populi*,” you know, is “*vox Dei*,” but often only so when it chimes in with some pet preconceived notion.

In 1906 there were 7,266,708 voters on the register in the three kingdoms, and at the last general election there were polled 3,082,908 Liberal (including Labour, Nationalist and Parnellite) votes, and 2,308,391 Conservative and Unionist votes. This represents about 75 per cent. of the total register. The Labour vote ought not here to be counted to the Liberal, but we give it to them in order to be more than fair.

VOTES AND VOTERS.

At the last General Election 2,463,606 votes were cast for Unionist candidates and 3,168,595 for Radicals, Labour men, Nationalists, &c., making a total of 5,632,201 actual voters.* The total population of the United Kingdom is at present about 43,659,121, so that, so far as actual voters are concerned, the present members of the House of Commons only represent about one-eighth of the people, though they are entrusted with the interests of, and make laws for, the whole.

REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER OF HOUSE OF LORDS.

We can easily see, therefore, that there is an immense mass of the population unrepresented. If we include the Conservative and Unionist members and voters, though for the present their voice is nullified by the Radical majority, we get a House of Commons returned by 5,632,201 actual voters, which in the purely delegate sense, leaves a balance of 38,026,980 of the population unrepresented. We are forced to the conclusion, therefore, that political power, both with the voter and the representative, is a public trust, confided to them to use

* In 111 constituencies, with 923,100 electors, there was no contest.

for the public welfare; and to say that the House of Commons *only* represents the whole of the people is simply an assumption which the facts do not bear out.

We have, therefore, as good grounds for supposing that the House of Lords represents this large mass of non-voters as that the House of Commons does so; nay, there is reason to suppose that the House of Lords represents it even better—for we find that the majority of the non-voting population live in England, which in all recent conflicts between the two Houses has returned a majority in support of the action of the House of Lords. We conclude, therefore, that on the *delegate* principle, these 670 M.P.'s simply represent the voters who have sent them—but on the representative principle—which is the true one—the House of Lords along with the House of Commons jointly represents the people of Great Britain and Ireland.

GROWTH OF HOUSE OF COMMONS.

As we have already hinted, the House of Lords in early times was entirely predominant, and was the only parliamentary institution which the country possessed. Gradually, however, after the Commons began to sit in a separate chamber, about the year 1332, their power grew; they began to have a *controlling* as well as an *assenting* voice in raising the taxes, and by carefully and wisely guarding this power of control—making the grant of money conditional on the redress of grievances, or extension of liberty—they have at length acquired a position the equal of, and in *one* or *two* matters superior to, that of the House of Lords. When, therefore, we plead for the rights and privileges of the House of Lords, we are not forgetful of those of the House of Commons. We must not unduly exalt the one at the expense of the other; there is no necessity whatever for that. Each house has its uses, its duties, its rights; each is governed by its own laws and obeys its own rules; each is necessary for the welfare of the country, and neither could fulfil its proper functions without the other. So that to lose either of them would be a calamity to the interests and liberties of the people, which it would be utterly impossible to repair.

CHARACTER OF HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The character of the two Houses is entirely different, resulting from their different mode of being chosen. The House of Commons is recruited from different classes of men throughout the country—local manufacturers, merchants, tradesmen, professional gentlemen, including lawyers and a few landowners—men who, as a rule, have passed the greater portion of their lives in their respective avocations in amassing money, who have only turned their serious attention to polities

when business would permit, or when their fortunes were made. Comparatively few in the House of Commons have been trained to political life from their earlier years, unless it be the sons of peers, who have been born and fostered in a political "atmosphere," and have always had leisure to study the problems of statesmanship.

CHARACTER OF HOUSE OF LORDS.

Now take the House of Lords. That House is composed of men who, in many cases, are born of families either renowned in *war, science, law or politics*. There is a certain prestige to keep up, and the son is educated in the highest manner to the business (if I may use such a term) of statesmanship—knowing that in after life he will have to perform those functions—in the same manner as a person is brought up to a profession or trade. Besides this, large additions are made from time to time from the best men in the House of Commons, men who have been tried and proved themselves capable statesmen. Others again are sent there because they have distinguished themselves as administrators, warriors, ambassadors, or have, by application, arrived at the top of their respective professions in literature, science, art, or industry. All these, with a sprinkling of the most learned men in the country in the persons of the bishops—men who have been chosen, not at random, but from amongst the best of the 25,000 clergymen who minister to the wants of the people through the Church of England—form an assembly which, chosen in this manner from men like these, *must be* of the very highest possible character.

"The strength of the House of Lords lay in illustrious members—in ancient traditions and in persons who *represented* the Country—some by all that *wealth* could furnish—some by all that *descent* could give, and some by all that *genius* could impart. He hoped it would not be indecorous for a political opponent to say that the noble marquis (Salisbury) combined all the three—(loud cheers)."—
LORD ROSEBERY in House of Lords, March 19th, 1888.

"Again, it was the Lords who wrung Magna Charta—the Great Charter of the Land—from a powerful king. Is that an offence? It was the Lords—the Spiritual Lords—who went to the Tower in calm defiance of James II. Is that a sin never to be forgotten or forgiven? It was the Lords who during the great war raised and equipped at their own cost whole regiments of volunteers. Is that an unpardonable crime? It was the Lords who with heart and hand helped the Church of the nation to place a school in every parish, and who did so when the Nonconformist Conscience was in arms against national education, raging against it from pulpit, Press, and platform, denying point blank on principle—always on 'principle'—the right of the State to meddle with education at all. Is that the scandal which made the delegates at Leeds so savage? It was the Lords who championed with eloquence and enthusiasm the Ten Hours Bill, and it was the Liberals in and out of Parliament who insulted Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, and who, by their strenuous antagonism, so delayed the Bill that the too sensitive Peer, its author, grew grey and fretful under the prolonged delay. Perhaps it was the Ten Hours Bill which was the enormity that made the delegates at Leeds so terribly ferocious. Then these wicked Lords have got it into their stubborn heads that Ministers have no genuine majority for the Repeal of the Union, and are, moreover, no free agents, but are despicably dependent from day to day upon the votes of men whom they themselves have branded as traitors and cast into gaol."—*England*, June 30th, 1894.

POWER OF HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONEY BILLS.

The House of Commons, therefore, is the younger of the two chambers; its power is of modern growth; while the Lords have acquiesced in its growth, and have often supported the Commons in their struggles for parliamentary liberty. It has wisely, *generously*, and voluntarily given up some privileges to make the position of the Commons stronger. To mention one instance—the money bills and regulations for levying of taxes. Though originally the right to initiate taxation belonged to the House of Lords, with an assenting voice in the Commons, this assent was constantly made contingent upon some privilege being granted to them; so that eventually assent grew into veto, until now the right of *initiation* has become vested in the Commons entirely. When, therefore, money bills (imposing taxes) are passed by the House of Commons the Lords never make any amendment. If they do not approve, their only course is to reject the Bills altogether, as none of their amendments will be considered by the Commons. Thus you see that though the taxation proposed may very seriously affect the Lords individually—and every tax does affect them more than any other class—they *have*, for the sake of the peace, stability, and good government of the country, given up their right of financial amendment to the Commons.

LORDS HAVE OPPOSED THE COMMONS.

The complaint that the House of Lords has often opposed the wishes of the House of Commons is somewhat childish. Of what earthly use would a second chamber be if it had not the power to record its own decisions and act upon them? Where would be its utility if it was bound simply to always agree with the House of Commons? Who would like to sit in a second chamber to be like one of the dummies in Madame Tussaud's, only to move when its machinery was allowed to work? A chamber of that character, instead of inspiring respect, would be the laughing-stock of the world, and be justly despised. We have heard of children crying for the moon, making everybody near them miserable because they could not have it; but have we not political children, constantly crying for the extinction of the House of Lords, who are quite as foolish and far more dangerous?

THROWING OUT BILLS.—PUBLIC OPINION.

If the House of Lords sometimes throws out, or makes amendments in, Bills sent up from the Commons, do they not get paid back with interest when their proposals are treated in the same way by the Commons? Have not the Commons been as great offenders in this matter as the Lords? Yet who

ever heard anybody propose the abolition of the House of Commons as a punishment?

Almost every year, whenever some pet scheme of some "Anti-everything Society" is thrown out, the wire-pullers and the indignation-meeting promoters at once begin a crusade against the iniquitous House of Lords. All the foolish and filthy stories of our ancestors; all the silly twaddle of some ancient, obsolete, and obscure aristocrat; all the anomalies of the pension list; with every kind of damaging report, invented by some equally silly "Own Correspondent," are dragged up, and made to do duty as arguments in favour of shutting up the House of Lords. So long as people can be found to listen to and read such rubbish, and take it as their political pabulum, so long will these unseemly and childish outeries continue. No doubt the House of Lords has thrown out bills which have passed the Commons, and it would not be worthy the name of a "House of Parliament" if it had not done so. But, as the late Lord Derby said, speaking of that House:

"It has never been the course of this House to resist a continued and deliberately expressed public opinion. Your lordships have always bowed, and always will bow, to the expression of such an opinion."*

And I may here say that it is the duty and privilege of Parliament (both Houses) to bow before, and give effect to, the deliberate expression of opinion of the people of this kingdom. The man would be worse than a fanatic who would counsel any other course.

"Public opinion (as is well said by Sir E. Creasy, p. 390) is in truth now the great lever of political action in England, but with many valuable checks and regulations. We are free, not only from Royal, but from democratic absolutism. The will of the majority is justly powerful, but it must develop its power in accordance with law, and in obedience to law, even when it is proceeding to work a change in the law. *Our liberty is Institutional Liberty*, and not the license of an impassioned multitude that brooks no restraint of form or precedent; that strikes, but hears not; that cannot or will not reason beforehand, though it often repents when too late.

We have said the House of Commons has thrown out bills quite as freely, and has refused its sanction to measures as often, as the House of Lords has.

If this be a crime (all sensible men know it is not), then the two Houses are equally guilty. If *abolition* is to be the penalty for being independent and using its best judgment, the sooner we return to pure *despotism* and the "divine right of kings" the better.

* Cf. The speech of Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords on the Trades Disputes Bill (Dec. 4, 1906). He believed it "to be the duty of their Lordships' House to arrest the progress of . . . measures whenever they believed that they had been insufficiently considered and that they were not in accord with the deliberate judgment of the country. He claimed, not for that House, but for the constituencies, the right of passing a final decision upon such questions." In the case of the Trades Disputes Bill he expressed an opinion that the country had declared its will at the General Election and, therefore, while disapproving of the terms of the Bill himself, he urged the Lords to pass it, which they did. (See *Times* Dec. 5, 1906.)

The constant cry of the House of Commons being immaculate, while the House of Lords is corrupt, can only be made by people who have never read or have forgotten the history of their own country.

It is common for the opponents of the Upper House to ransack the parliamentary reports for instances where that House has opposed some particular measure, and to parade *that* as a crime.

REJECTING BILLS.

Amongst the many thousands of proposals and enactments which have been discussed in Parliament during the last two hundred years, a list of some *half-dozen* which have failed to pass is paraded before us, in order to show the iniquity of the Lords; *i.e.*, because they did not swallow them at once, with their eyes shut, merely because they had struggled through the Commons.

This sort of argument is very unfair. It is also dangerous to the cause of those who introduce it. It is a sword which cuts both ways. For we find the House of Commons has been more guilty than the Lords in this respect. In 1702, again in 1703, and once more in 1704, the Commons passed that disgraceful Act for the oppression of dissenters, called the "Occasional Conformity Bill"; but when it came to the Lords it was ignominiously thrown out. All the bishops opposed it. This Act was to fine and disqualify any dissenter who had once conformed and taken the sacrament in the church, if he was ever afterwards, during his term of office, found attending chapel. Another attempt was made in 1711, which succeeded; but the Act was found so oppressive that it had to be repealed seven years afterwards. (See further, as to this, p. 106.)

CHURCH RATES.

To the opponents of *Church Rates* I may state that the House of Commons was the place where they were *first* made compulsory by Act of Parliament, in 1647. (The House of Lords was then abolished.) Anyone refusing to pay, or who was unable to do so, was imprisoned, and kept there till the money was found.

Abolition of church rates was first proposed in the House of Lords in 1837, but, the House of Commons being hostile, the Government dropped the bill. It was strongly opposed by Mr. W. E. Gladstone. The voting in the House of Commons was:—

For the Bill (abolition)	...	...	...	58
Against the Bill	...	...	...	489
Majority	...	...	...	431

(June 12, 1837.)

Another attempt at abolition was made in the House of Commons (March 14, 1849), but again was rejected in that House. Voting was:—

For the Bill (rejection)	...	...	...	84
Against the Bill	...	...	...	119
Majority	...	...	35	—

Still another attempt in 1854 shared the same fate in the House of Commons. Voting was:—

For the Bill (2nd reading)	...	...	...	182
Against the Bill	...	...	...	209
Majority	...	...	27	—

In 1858, the Bill passed House of Commons but was rejected by House of Lords. Mr. W. E. Gladstone still voted against it; he was then of the same opinion as the House of Lords.

Another attempt was made in the House of Commons in 1861. Voting was:—

For the Bill	...	...	...	...	274
Against the Bill	...	...	...	...	274
Majority	...	...	0	—	

The Speaker gave his casting vote against the Bill—so it never reached the House of Lords.

Two further attempts were made in House of Commons for the abolition of church rates in 1862 and 1863, but were as usual unsuccessful.

Mr. W. E. Gladstone continued to *oppose all the time*. He had not yet been converted—but his conversion was “on the way.”

The Bill passed both Houses in 1868, under the Premiership of Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Gladstone had then become converted.

The House of Commons has rejected bills for the abolition of **Church Rates** at least *eight times* for the House of Lords *once*.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—REJECTING BILLS.

This “sin” of rejecting bills has been much more freely and frequently committed by the House of Commons than by the House of Lords, though the Radicals wish to make the voters believe to the contrary. For instance, here are a few samples:—

TAKE THE CORN LAWS.

From the year 1823 to 1845 the various proposals with this object, viz., abolishing or modifying the duties on Corn were rejected by the House of Commons **twenty-four times**.

The following are the details:—

Moved by	Mr. Whitmore,	and rejected	6 times
Do.	Mr. Hume,	"	4 "
Do.	Mr. Villiers,	"	8 "
Do.	Mr. Cobden,	"	2 "
Do.	Lord J. Russell,	"	2 "
Do.	Mr. Fryer,	"	1 "
Do.	Mr. Clay	"	1 "
Total rejections ...			<u>24</u>

The "Corn Law" was eventually carried in the year 1846, by Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative Prime Minister, by 327 to 229, majority for the Bill, 98.

It was also passed in the House of Lords the same year by 211 to 164—majority for Bill, 47, second reading. The third reading was passed without division.

Seventeen times during the reign of Queen Victoria the House of Commons rejected these Proposals.

The tactics of delay in the House of Commons are well described by Walpole in contrasting the methods of that House with those of the House of Lords, when he says:—

"Tactics of delay, frequent as they are in the Commons, have never been tolerated in the Lords."—*History of England*, vol. 4, c. 19, p. 283.

AGAIN, TAKE THE QUESTION OF REFORM.

Between 1822 and 1830 the House of Commons rejected 5 Reform Bills.
" 1852 " 1866 " " <u>12</u> "
Total rejections ... <u>17</u>

A REFORM BILL REJECTED EVERY FIFTEEN MONTHS.

Yet the Radicals try to get up a cry against the House of Lords because that chamber rejected the Reform Bill of 1832—*once only*—what bigotry!

NEXT WE HAVE THE COUNTY FRANCHISE.

Between 1839 and 1878 the House of Commons rejected proposals on this subject **eight times**.—And what about the

BALLOT?

If there is one fault above another which has been thrown at the head of the House of Lords, it is that the Ballot Bill was rejected by that assembly in 1871—although Mr. Gladstone had himself opposed it all his life previously, but in 1871 he had then just become converted to the idea. The House of Commons has made a "record" in the matter of throwing out Ballot Bills.

Between the years 1830 and 1867, the House of Commons rejected no less than **twenty-one** Ballot Bills.

In addition to all this opposition by the House of Commons, in 1872 that House insisted that before an illiterate voter could be allowed to vote, he was to make a declaration of illiteracy before a magistrate and bring the certificate to the polling booth. This would have disfranchised many thousands of voters all over the country. The House of Lords threw out that proposal, and established the present system by a majority of 32. Another evidence of giving personal liberty,

Note.—As there are at present over 34,000 illiterate voters in Great Britain and Ireland who voted at the last general election (1906), probably 30,000 of these would have lost their votes if they had been compelled to go before a magistrate for a certificate as the Radical House of Commons wished them to do.

Besides this, the House of Commons has rejected Bills for admitting Dissenters to the Universities **three times**. The last time was when the Bill was moved in the House of Commons in 1865, by Mr. Goschen, when the voting was as follows:—

Voted for the Bill	...	...	...	...	190
Voted against the Bill	...	...	...	...	206
Majority against	...	...			16

The House of Commons has also rejected the **Factory Acts** not less than *six* times, with a great many other useful measures, too numerous to particularise.

In 1863 it was proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Gladstone) to tax *hospitals* and *charities*. If such a proposal had been made by the *Peers*, we should have heard of it at every general election for the next hundred years.

During the years 1801-29 the House of Commons rejected bills for "**Roman Catholic Relief**" no less than **Fourteen times**.

Hundreds of similar instances might be given, to relate which would be simply to write a History of England. We may safely conclude on this point that the House of Commons in modern times has rejected at least *ten times* as many bills as the House of Lords has; and also that the Commons have proposed far more abortive and oppressive legislation than ever was done by the Lords. We have here a very strong illustration of the saying that—"one man may steal a horse, while another may not look over a wall."

RECRIMINATION USELESS.

But what is the use of recrimination of this kind? It cannot possibly serve any good purpose, as each House has been equally active and almost equally culpable in rejecting

the proposals of the other, when the proposed measures were thought to be injurious to the interests of the people, for whom they are appointed to legislate.

GROWTH OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

We have seen how the House of Lords has grown in the past; how its actions and powers have kept pace with the times; though its relative position to the House of Commons has not been entirely maintained, the reason for which has been already considered.

The number of members in the Upper House is now *much larger* than at any previous period of its history, and very rightly so.

The growing prosperity, population, learning, and interests of the country require its legislative chambers to keep pace with them.

The creations of Peers are not only much more numerous *now*, because of the larger number of eminent men to choose from, but the creations are much more regular and uniform. The creation of Peers in the past was often regulated by political expediency, some Premiers requiring support to enable them to carry special measures, and other reasons. *Now* public opinion is (and very properly) against such a straining and unfair use of political power; and though we may occasionally have an instance of the honour being conferred from purely personal motives, the general motive seems to be for *distinguished public service*, high scientific or legal attainments, or some exceptional quality in the recipient of the honour which the country does well to recognise.

This honour, like every other political position in the present day, is far more free, far more pure, and better deserved than ever it was at any previous period; and we, as a nation, can rejoice that, on the whole, our public men on *both* sides are practically pure in their political lives.

ANCIENT PEERAGE.

The number of Peers in the Parliament of 1454 was only 51; in the first Parliament of Henry VIII. there were 29; the greatest number under that monarch was 51. The first Parliament of James I. had 82, while the last had 96. In 1628, under Charles I., there were 117, and 1640, 119; while in the first Parliament of Charles II. there were 139. (Hallam, 632). In the first of George III. there were 224, while at the beginning of the present reign there were 439. (Acland & Ransome). Similar increases have taken place in the House of Commons, and it was only in 1801 that it reached 658 members.

After the Reform Bill of 1884, the House of Commons consisted of 670 members, at which number it stands at present.

Previous to the Reformation there were very often more *spiritual* votes than temporal ones. The contrast, therefore, between those times and our own is very striking. Now we have a House of Lords three or four times as numerous as ever we had before. If “in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom,” our nation ought to be the best governed in the world. We have a large House of Commons, an almost equally numerous House of Lords, with a Royal Family at the head which, we may safely say, will compare favourably with any reigning house which has ever been known to history, both for purity of character, intellectual attainments, and desire to promote the happiness of the people over whom they reign.

PAST ACTION OF PEERS.

The actions of the House of Lords in the past will also bear comparison with those of any similar assembly in this or any other age.

We have seen how they procured for us the Great Charter at the risk of life and property; at the risk of excommunication and loss of spiritual help—loss of the means of grace, baptism, burial, and the common religious services which every Christian has a right to, as a citizen of a Christian country.

To procure this great blessing for us at such a cost was noble, but it required equally great efforts to preserve it. The fortress was built; but it required to be watched, guarded, strengthened. This is what devolved upon our nobles to do, and they did it wisely and well.

Each succeeding king had to be taught that the liberties of the nation were to be his first care, and when he chanced to forget this, as many of them did, they were each respectively made to sign a confirmation, and sometimes an enlargement, of those rights which had cost so much to procure. In this way confirmations were signed by the following monarchs: Henry III. (1216-1272), Edward I. (1272-1307), Edward II. (1307-1327), Edward III. (1327-1377), and Richard II. (1377-1399)—*i.e.*, during a period of two hundred years from the passing of the Great Charter until our liberties were completely established and secured.

Note.—So important was the Great Charter considered to be by the people of England, that between the years 1215 and 1415 it was confirmed no less than *thirty-seven times*; and a further fact may be noted, that at the restoration of Charles II., he was asked by the House of Commons to confirm it on the very day he entered London.

GREAT ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

As we descend the stream of our history, the Peers have been equally active and solicitous for the growth of liberty, and for curbing the prerogatives of the Crown. We have the "Petition of Right," obtained under Charles I.; the "Habeas Corpus Act" (1679), under Charles II.; the "Bill of Rights," and "Act of Settlement," under William III.; in the passing of all of which the Peers took a *leading* part.

The "Petition of Right" is a confirmation and enlargement of some of the provisions of Magna Charta. It provides, in the amplest manner, for the liberty of the subject, freedom from kingly and other oppression, and the free use of a man's own property without outside interference from any one. During the discussion of the "**Petition of Right**" the House of Lords, in its care for the liberty of the subject, imprisoned the Crown-Sergeant Ashley, because he insisted on the right of the king to imprison a man who refused him a loan.

The "Habeas Corpus Act" is another enactment for protecting the people from *arbitrary* imprisonment, as its name implies.

The magistrate is bound *at once* on the issue of a writ of habeas corpus, to produce the body of an imprisoned person to the Court to determine whether his imprisonment is just. No rotting in prison waiting for trial, as is so often the case in some continental and other States.

The "Bill of Rights" is a further enlargement of the "Petition of Right," and provides, amongst other things, that the Crown cannot of itself levy taxes nor keep a standing army without consent of Parliament. Members of Parliament are to be free to utter their thoughts on any or every subject without interference from king or ministers. Parliament is to be called together every year, so that no more than one year's taxes can be levied at once. Elections are to be quite free. Trial by jury is to be inviolate, and the right of petition to the Crown not to be interfered with.

The "Act of Settlement" defines and settles which is to be the reigning family in this country, who and what kind of persons they are to be, what they are to do with the prerogatives and other powers which they have to exercise. This, you will see, settles all disputes as to the succession; also what the king can legally do, and what he cannot do. We thus avoid the miseries and horrors of *civil war*, as well as the constant disputes as to who shall occupy the throne, which have been the ruin of so many other countries.

The author before quoted (Sir E. Creasy, page 4) says of these Acts that "they deserve to be cited, not as ordinary laws,

but as great constitutional compacts, which deserve to be classed with the Great Charter itself; " and Lord Chatham calls these Acts "**the Bible of the English Constitution.**"

Besides the statutes above named, which to a large extent owe their existence to the Peers, they, along with the Commons, have passed all the great Acts which are the glory of our Statute Book and the boast of the people. It has been too much the fashion to give all the credit to the House of Commons for the legislation of recent times; we are so accustomed to see and hear our local members, and so seldom see a member of the Upper House, that we imperceptibly come to regard them as the *chief* and *only* legislators. We ought to remember that, whatever credit is due to Parliament for the passing of laws, it is equally due to *both* Houses;—to give all to one and ignore the other is not only ungenerous but unfair—causing the judgments of the unreflecting portion of the community to be unjust.

Mr. W. E. Gladstone's opinion on this subject ought to carry some weight with impetuous Radicals. He said:—

"I must as a candid man, looking at this question for a practical purpose consider this—that notwithstanding all this action of the House of Lords of which we are inclined to complain, we have had a period of fifty years such as has never been known in the entire history of the country—I may almost say in the entire history of the modern world—in which the House of Lords has introduced a vast amount of practical legislation upon the statute book of this land—and from which we are from day to day reaping the benefit."—*Hansard*, 3rd Ser., vol. 84, p. 554.

Lord Selborne (August 9th, 1882), speaking of the House of Lords, said:—

"It has played a great historical part in the past. It is in the *true sense*, though not in the sense of the House of Commons, a great representative assembly—representing many of the most important elements of prosperity and stability in the country, and constantly recruiting from the ranks of the people new elements of the same kind."

Note.—All the grand legislation alluded to above has passed the House of Lords as well as the House of Commons.

Space will not allow me to give details of the separate action of the Peers, in the part which they took to procure these great statutes, which have been so beneficial to this nation. Everyone will, however, recollect the names of Monmouth and Argyle, who first took up arms against the tyrant James II. The invitation to William III. to come over and occupy the British throne was originated by the aristocracy—because no one else had sufficient courage to do so—and was signed by Lords Danby, Devonshire, Shrewsbury, and Lumley; also by the Bishop of London, Admiral Russell, and Henry Sidney.

William and Mary were *first acknowledged* as King and Queen by the House of Lords, which consisted at that time of 166 Peers and 26 Bishops.

MODERN ACTS.

In enumerating a few Acts of modern times, of which all Englishmen are proud, let us give the full credit of this legislation where it is due—to *both* Houses—not exalting the Lords at the expense of the Commons, nor *vice versa*.

The Act for the “*Freedom of the Press*,” passed under Charles II., was due to the Earl of Shaftesbury; that further instalment of liberty, the “*Treasons Bill*,” also owes its existence to the same Peer. This Act gives prisoners accused of treason the benefit of counsel and witnesses, with the power of challenging juries.

“There have been periods of history in which it has been charitably believed by some in this country that the military party were the popular party, and struggling for the liberties of the people. There is not the smallest ray or shred of evidence to support that contention. Military violence and a *régime* established by military violence are also contradictory with the growth of freedom. The reign of Cromwell was a great reign, but it **did nothing for English freedom** because it was the rule of a military force, and it has not left on the statute book the record of such triumphs as were achieved by peaceful action during the, in many respects, base and infamous reign which followed—the reign of Charles II.”

—W. E. GLADSTONE, House of Commons, July 24th, 1882.

THE REPEAL OF THE TEST ACT.

This detestable Act was imposed in 1673. In 1787 its repeal was proposed by Beaufoy, supported by Pitt, but the motion was lost. Other motions in 1789 shared the same fate, and it was not till the Duke of Wellington became Premier in 1828 that the Bill introduced by Lord John Russell was carried in both Houses—supported by Government, two Archbishops, and nearly all the Bishops.—*Cassell's History of England*, vol. 7, p. 109.

Division in House of Commons was 237-193—majority 44.

Division in House of Lords was ... 154- 52—majority 102.

It was not opposed in the latter House on the Second Reading.

“The measure (Repeal Bill) was received with gratitude by the Dissenters, and the grace of the concession was enhanced by the liberality of the bishops and the candour and moderation of the leading statesmen who had originally opposed it.”—Sir ERSKINE MAY, *Constitutional History*, vol. 2, p. 391.

Lord Goderich, ex-Liberal Premier, speaking in the House of Lords on this Bill and on the attitude of the bishops, said:—

“The sentiments which your lordships have heard from several right reverend prelates do no less honour to themselves than to the assembly to which they were addressed, and the church to which they belong.”—*Hansard*, vol. 18, 1505.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

It was the Liberals in 1700 who passed one of the most severe Acts against the Roman Catholics ever known. Here are some of the provisions of the Act:—

- 1st—Every Roman Catholic priest exercising his functions—to be imprisoned for life.
- 2nd—£100 reward to any person giving information of same.
- 3rd—Every Roman Catholic youth to take oaths of allegiance and supremacy, declare against transubstantiation, &c., on penalty of forfeiting right to hold land or other property.
- 4th—No Catholic children to be sent abroad for their education. &c., &c., &c.

In 1778, under Lord North's Government (Conservative), most of the penal portions of the Act of 1700 were repealed. A further measure of relief was proposed in 1801 by William Pitt (Conservative), which he failed to carry, and it was left to a Conservative peer and Premier, the Duke of Wellington, who gave the final relief to the Roman Catholics by passing the above Bill through both Houses of Parliament. It was passed by as large a proportional majority in the Lords as in the Commons, thus:—

House of Commons ...	... 320-142—majority 178.
House of Lords ...	... 213-109—majority 104.

THE "REFORM BILL," 1832.

One of the great crimes attributed to the House of Lords by fiery Radicals is the rejection of this Bill by a majority of 41, but they entirely forgot to notice that the House of Commons had previously rejected **five** similar Bills. The Lords passed this Bill by 106-22—majority 84.

The great William Pitt, the Tory Prime Minister, proposed a similar Reform Bill to this one, abolishing 37 rotten boroughs, in 1785, but the Whigs and the Liberals were too strong for him, and the measure was thrown out. He was evidently 47 years before his time—the country had to wait till 1832. The credit, however, belongs to William Pitt of being the pioneer of Reform, though some Radicals claim the honour for Earl Grey in 1832. By the Bill of 1832, 200,000 working men were deprived of their votes, and Mr. Disraeli, by his Bill of 1867, restored the working men's franchise by giving Household Suffrage in towns.

These few facts and figures may help to explain the position of Reform in 1831-2:—

March, 1831—Bill brought in House of Commons passed second reading.

Amendment against Bill on third reading carried against Government.

Voting was:—299-291—majority 8.

This Bill never reached the House of Lords.

Parliament then was dissolved—April, 1831.

Parliament reassembled—June, 1831.

Another Reform Bill introduced—

Majority.

Passed House of Commons—voting: 345-236—109.

Defeated in House of Lords—voting: 199-158—41.

Another Reform Bill brought in House of Commons:—

Bill passed in House of Commons—March, 1832.

Bill passed in House of Lords—June, 1832.

Voting: For, 106; against, 22—majority, 84.

THE “REFORM BILL,” 1867.

After several months of struggle in the House of Commons, under the able generalship of Mr. Disraeli, this Bill passed both Houses, and gave the working classes, for the first time in their history, Household Suffrage in the boroughs. This was accomplished under Lord Derby’s Conservative Government.

It should not be forgotten that this Bill was strongly opposed by practically *all* the Liberals then in the House of Commons, at the head of whom were Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and 287 other Liberals, who tried in Committee to upset the rating principle of the Bill in favour of a rental principle. They failed—but so keen was their opposition that they followed it into the House of Lords, and there again attempted further wrecking tactics.

The Lords accepted the principle of household suffrage, and passed the Bill.

So bitter was Mr. Gladstone’s enmity against the Bill that on May 12th, 1867, he stated to a deputation of 360 gentlemen who interviewed him:—

“I will use every effort and avail myself of every remaining opportunity to strike at the odious principles of inequality and injustice involved in the Bill, and if we fail, as we probably shall fail, to *decline to recognise* or be parties in any measure to it as a settlement of the question and to continue to maintain by every constitutional means in our power the principles on which we have acted.”—*Times*, May 13, 1867.

Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland were passed through both Houses soon after.

Do not forget that **twelve** Reform Bills had been *rejected* by the House of Commons between 1852 and 1866, yet during all that time there was a Radical majority in the House. How they must have *loved* “Reform”—eh?

THE FACTORY ACTS.

The Factory Acts, under the guidance of Lord Ashley, son of a Peer, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury; passed by both Houses, after often being rejected by the House of Commons. Who can estimate the benefits which these Acts have conferred upon the working classes of this country? They have led the way for all similar enactments which have rendered life in mills, workshops, mines, and bleachworks comparatively easy and pleasant, which before was simply unbearable and worse than slavery. They are a great credit to us as a nation, and, thanks to our enlightened legislators, we are the only people who possess such Acts. Out of 47 Acts regulating factory labour, nearly *all* were *Conservative* measures, to carry out the benevolent intentions of the late Lord Shaftesbury, who passed his whole life in this philanthropic work. When the *Consolidating Act* for factory legislation was introduced into the House of Lords in 1878, Lord Shaftesbury said, 'Two millions of people would bless the day when Sir Richard Cross (now Lord Cross) became Secretary of State for Home Affairs.'

An interview between Mr. Wilberforce (a Tory) and William Pitt, the Tory Premier, led the former to devote the whole of his life in trying to secure the

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The matter was brought forward in 1792, but the House of Commons threw out the Bill.

Another Bill was brought into the House in 1833 by Lord Derby (then Lord Stanley), and after much opposition the slaves were to be liberated on payment of £20,000,000 to their owners. (The Gladstone family got £68,000 of this for their 1,273 slaves.)

This victory of humanity over barbarism (the slave system) was accomplished after 42 years of strenuous struggle (1791-1833), begun by Pitt, the great Tory Premier, and continued by Lord Derby, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Macaulay, and others, both in Parliament and outside, and we may fairly apportion the credit for this good work to both Houses of our legislature **equally**.

THE "IRISH LAND BILL," 1870.

The "Irish Land Bill," 1870, passed the Commons by an immense majority, only eleven obstructives voting against it; while in the Lords there was no division either on the second or third reading, and it was passed without material alteration.

This Act was intended to *settle* the Irish land difficulty, and although it affected the Lords closely, they sacrificed their personal interests to those of their country. A wasted sacrifice.

The *settlement* of Irish land questions is like the desert mirage—a delusion. We have passed several Irish Land Bills since then, but "**settlement**" seems about as near as William the Conqueror's reign is that of Edward VII.

Another Irish Land Bill passed in 1881—fixing *fair rents* to Irish tenants was read a second time in the House of Lords without a division.

Still another Irish Land Act, 1887, conferring great benefits on 150,000 Irish tenants (leaseholders) by putting them in the same favourable position as yearly tenants, enabling them to have *fair rents* fixed by the Courts, also giving *free sale*, was sent down from the House of Lords to the House of Commons and passed.

The "Elementary Education Act," 1870, passed the House of Commons with some difficulty, after much opposition from the Nonconformists, but in the House of Lords it was passed without opposition; politics were sunk for the sake of education, and for a quarter of a century the country has been reaping the benefit of their patriotic conduct.

Since then, about eleven Education Acts have been brought in and passed both Houses of Parliament. Nearly *all* Conservative Acts.

The Act of 1902, the latest and most comprehensive, has worked well in every part of the country. Under it, for the *first time* in our history, the child of the poorest workman can climb from the bottom to the top of the educational ladder.

The Radical Education Bill of 1906 was read a second time in the House of Lords without a division. It is false to say that they rejected it. The Government dropped it rather than agree to amendments, proposed by the Lords in the interests of justice and liberty, securing to all teachers freedom to teach, if they were asked and were willing to do so, denominational religion in all schools built by the denominations (Church of England, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, etc.), such teaching to be at the expense of the denomination and not of the public. The "Liberal" party would not agree to this!*

The "Colliery and Mines Regulation Acts," for miners; the "**Merchant Shipping Acts,**" for sailors; "**Artizans Dwellings Acts,**" for over-crowded and down-trodden poor in the large towns; the various agricultural Acts, for the benefit of our agricultural population, are all fit supplements to those above-named, and show that the Legislature, in passing them, had the health, interests, and liberties of the people at heart; that they were anxious to render the position of the artisan as free and secure as possible, in order to keep

* See further as to this Bill, pp. 69-73. Speaking in the House of Commons on Dec. 20 1906, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman himself described the final point at issue between the two Houses as follows:—

"Why were the amendments" (*i.e.*, the final proposals of the Government in the House of Lords) "rejected? . . . They were rejected because of demands made which they would not fulfil. And what were these demands? The demand was solemnly avowed that in the hitherto denominational schools, the non-provided and the transferred schools, according to the nomenclature of this legislation, specific sectarian religious teaching should continue to be given by all the teachers, if willing, in every school, large or small, in town and country alike, irrespective of the assent of the local authority. That is a plain description of the demand."—*Times*, Dec. 21, 1906. Surely not a very unreasonable demand!"

pace with the general progress of the country. They all passed through the House of Lords without the slightest difficulty, save on a few small points in one or two of them.

**HOUSE OF LORDS v. HOUSE OF COMMONS.
FURTHER LEGISLATION AND PROPOSALS OF THE
HOUSE OF LORDS.**

“Property Qualification.”—First introduced in the House of Commons in 1711, by which a Borough representative must possess £300 a year, and a County representative £600 a year.

The Lords *threw out* this Bill when first presented. The Bill was afterwards made law, but the Conservative Government of 1858 abolished the property qualification altogether, with the consent of both Houses.

“Parliamentary Trains.”—By a clause put into a Railway Bill (April 22nd, 1864) at the instance of Lord Derby, the House of Lords compelled Railway Companies to provide cheap trains at least twice a day for the purpose of taking working men to and from their employment at reduced fares.—*Hansard*, vol. 174, p. 1488.

This resolution was strongly opposed in the House of Commons, whose members numbered at that time at least 100 railway directors. The Lords stuck to their guns, and working men all over the country have been greatly benefited, thanks to the House of Lords.

“Merchandise Marks Bill,” 1887.—This Bill, though first introduced in the House of Commons, was much opposed by the Liberals. It, however, passed that Chamber. When it got to the House of Lords it was agreed to without a division and became law.

Its object is to prevent working men from being defrauded and robbed by the wily foreigner imitating English-made goods, stamping them with imitation trade marks, and selling them as English goods. The result of this beneficent Act has been to stop the fraud, make trade more honest, and give the English working man a chance to live.

A further amendment of this Bill was introduced into the House of Lords in June, 1894, by Lord Denbigh (C), and opposed by the Radical Government. The House passed the second reading by 49-26—majority 23.

The “Law of Evidence Bill,” 1887.—This important and useful Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Bramwell (L.U.). Its purpose was to enable persons charged with criminal offences to give evidence on oath on their own behalf, and to allow wives or husbands to give evidence. It passed the House of Lords March 4th, 1887, but was rejected by the House of Commons, mainly through the

obstruction of the Irish members. Who curtailed liberty here? This Bill had previously passed the House of Lords in 1886.

The "Church Patronage Bill."—This was a Bill to give parishioners opportunities of objection when an unsuitable clergyman was presented to a living. It was brought into the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1886 and passed. It got no further. It was again brought in the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1887, and was universally supported, and passed. It got no further. Again the Archbishop of Canterbury brought forward the measure in 1893. It was read a third time on March 21st. It got no further, chiefly in consequence of the narrow-minded conduct of a few Radical Dissenters. Here again the House of Commons curtails liberty and blocks reform.

The "Electric Lighting Bill," 1887.—This Bill passed a third reading in the House of Lords March 31st, but though it was one to benefit the trade of the country no time could be found for it in the House of Commons.

Two other Bills were introduced into the House of Lords with the same object—one by Lord Thurlow, and another by Lord Crawford, in 1888. Lord Thurlow's Bill was read a third time (April 23rd), and, after considerable opposition, managed to scramble through the House of Commons.

The "Lunacy Act Amendment Bill."—Here was a Bill for the purpose of increasing the protection afforded by law to persons of unsound mind—Heaven knows they require all the protection possible to be given them. This Bill was introduced into the House of Lords in 1884. Again it was introduced into the House of Lords in 1885. Once more it was introduced into the same Chamber, and, after considerable discussion, it was read a second time, March 1st, 1886. Nothing further was done. Once again the Lords came to the help of these unfortunate people, and bring in for the *fourth* time this useful measure. It passed the third reading on March 17th, 1887, but not till two years after this had it a chance of getting placed on the Statute Book. Where was the House of Commons all this time? Echo answers **where??**

"Railway and Canal Traffic Bill," 1887.—This Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Stanley of Preston, a Conservative Peer, for the purpose of providing a Court of Appeal to prevent traders and workmen being injured by undue preference and unfair railway rates. Its object was to improve trade.

The British trader was handicapped in his trade transactions, especially in the matter of carriage of goods, by the Railway Companies giving unfair preferential rates to foreigners, and refusing equal terms to the Englishmen. The following are a few cases by way of illustration:—

A ton of **foreign** corn from Victoria Docks, London, to Peterborough (75 miles) was charged for carriage 6s. 8d. A ton of **English** corn from London to Peterborough was charged 14s. 5d., more than double the amount. The foreigner was preferred.

A ton of **American** meat from Liverpool to London was charged 25s. A ton of **English** meat sent from or to the same place was charged 50s. The Englishman was injured.

Fruit sent from **Flushing** (Holland) to London got through for 25s. per ton, passing Sittingbourne Station on the way; yet the same sum, 25s., was charged for **English** fruit from Sittingbourne to London. Radicals favour every country but their own.

American cheese from Liverpool to London cost 25s. per ton, passing through Cheshire; but **Cheshire** cheese picked up on the way at various stations had to pay 42s. 6d. per ton. Injure the English farmer.

American meat from Glasgow to London was taken for 45s. per ton. **Scotch** meat sent from the same place to the Metropolis paid 77s. per ton. Is that a punishment for sending so many Scotch M.P.'s?

The London and South Western Railway carried **French** hops from Boulogne to London for 17s. 6d. per ton, but they charged 35s. per ton for hops sent from Ashford to London—only half-way on the same route. The teetotal party rules the Radicals.

It is owing to the initiative of the **House of Lords** that these and other similar hindrances to British trade have been removed.

It was read a third time in the House of Lords May 5th, 1887. No progress was made with it in the House of Commons, so it had to be dropped for that year. Again Lord Stanley of Preston came forward with this Bill in 1888. It passed its third reading March 13th, and, after much opposition and hostile criticism, it was read a third time in the Commons August 7th. Here, again, you have the Lords fighting for our trade, while the Commons are acting as "a clog on the wheels of the State." They have little time to devote to labour and trade questions.

They are too busy trying to reduce the Army, weakening the Navy, injuring Voluntary Schools, voting themselves salaries of £300 a year each, insulting the Colonies and uprooting the Constitution, to be able to find much time for either trade matters or to diminish that large army of unemployed, many of whom are starving. Home Rule for Ireland, uproot the Welsh Church, destroy the House of Lords are their pet ideals—not one of which will do one pennyworth of good to one single workman throughout the country.

"Housing of the Working Classes."—In consequence of the resolution moved by Lord Salisbury on February 22nd, 1884, in the House of Lords, a Royal Commission—by consent of the Queen—examined into this subject. The Prince of Wales took a full share of the work. After the Commission's report Lord Salisbury introduced a Bill to carry out the Commission's recommendations, July 15th, 1885. The Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords July 24th, and passed the House of Commons August 11th, 1885.

The result of this legislation has been most beneficial to the working classes.

In London, 36,000 working men have been provided with comfortable houses, besides 20,000 more under the Peabody gifts. Birmingham and many other of our large towns have equally benefited by this legislation.

This is an entire creation initiated and carried out by the House of Lords in the interests of working men.

"Cramming in Elementary Schools."—This evil system, which was so detrimental to the health and best interests of the children, has been abolished, entirely owing to the persistent efforts of Lord De la Warr, a Conservative member of the despised House of Lords, who called attention to the question in the House on March 11th, 1884; again on April 1st, 1884; again on June 27th, 1884; and on several subsequent occasions.

"Criminal Law Amendment Act."—This important Act was to make provision for the protection of women and girls, and for the suppression of vice. It was introduced and passed by the House of Lords in 1884, but the House of Commons was so busy bringing in and discussing a "one-legged" Reform Bill, that it had no time to discuss an important measure like this. It was therefore dropped, but the Lords brought it forward again in 1885, when it passed both Houses.

The "Medical Relief Clause."—This clause, providing that *no voter should be disqualified because he had received Medical Relief*, was inserted into the Registration Bill and passed in the House of Lords by 72-47—majority 25, on May 19th, 1885. This was afterwards assented to by the House of Commons on May 20th.

Thus many hundreds of poor voters owe their power to vote entirely to the House of Lords' initiative.

In order not to extend these examples at too great length the following details of some of the more important measures of modern times, with the action of the House of Lords and the House of Commons thereon, may serve to illustrate our present branch of the subject:—

"Opening of Museums for three evenings per week" was moved by Lord Harrowby (C), and carried by House of Lords.

"Opening of Museums on Sundays."—Carried in House of Lords by 76-62—majority 14.

"All Seats in Parish Churches to be Free."—Moved by Bishop of Peterborough, and carried in House of Lords March 11th, 1886.

"Shop Hours Regulation Bill."—This Bill, for the relief of shop girls, introduced by Sir J. Lubbock (now Lord Avebury), passed House of Commons after much opposition, lasting five months. Scarcely any opposition offered in the Lords. The Bill passed the third reading by 25-5—majority 20.

"Allotments for Cottagers Bill."—Introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Dunraven (C.), and carried—1887.

"Allotments for Cottage Gardens (Compensation)."—This Bill, for giving compensation to cottagers, passed House of Commons after many amendments, but passed the Lords unchanged.

"Inspection of Boilers."—Passed first and second reading in the House of Lords. Brought in by Lord Stanley of Preston (C.), in 1887.

"Coal Mines Regulation Bill."—After 130 amendments and six months' discussion in the House of Commons it passed the Lords without opposition. Its effect has been to save the lives of 4,000 miners since 1887.

"Police Enfranchisement Bill," was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Burdett-Coutts (C.), and, after some discussion, passed. It was agreed to by the House of Lords without any amendment May 16th, 1887.

"Coal Mines Bill."—Introduced in House of Commons by Sir R. Cross (C.), to give miners the right to appoint their own check weighers, and also to be represented at inquests. This Bill was violently opposed by Mr. H. Broadhurst (G.L.), but eventually passed. Introduced into House of Lords by Lord Ashbourne (C.), and passed without opposition or amendment June 22nd, 1886.

"Merchant Shipping Bill."—Introduced by Lord Onslow (C.), for providing extra life-saving appliances on ships, in the shape of boats, belts, &c. Penalty for neglect—Owner, £100; Captain, £50; passed both Houses. Originated by House of Lords.

Another Act for the safety of sailors was passed in 1873.

Both these Acts passed the House of Lords **unanimously**.

A further Act in 1880 was similarly treated by the House of Lords.

"Overtime on Railways."—Lord De la Warr (C) moved for returns on this subject in the House of Lords, with a view to legislation in 1888.

Again the same Peer called attention to this subject in 1889, based upon the above returns, and this action led to the legislation passed in 1893.

“Committee on Sweating.”—Lord Dunraven (C) called attention to this subject in the House of Lords in 1888, and moved for a Committee of Enquiry, which was granted by the Conservative Government of the day, which resulted in Lord Salisbury’s “Alien Pauper Bill”—intended to stop the importation of pauper foreigners into this country, and in the “Immigrant Aliens Act” passed by both Houses in 1905 in the teeth of strong Radical opposition.

The “Alien Pauper Bill,” 1894.—This Bill was introduced into the House of Lords July 4th, 1894, by Lord Salisbury, the head of the Conservative Party. Its object was to stop “sweating”; to stop British workmen being displaced by pauper foreign labour. The House of Lords read the Bill a first and second time. It was ready for going into Committee, when Sir William Harcourt (Radical Leader in the House of Commons) was asked if he would grant time for its discussion in that House. His reply was, “Not a moment!” This is an evidence of “sympathy” of the Radicals to the British working man.

Since that time thousands of undesirable aliens were landed in this country every year, filling our workhouses and prisons. The Radicals continued to oppose any attempts to prevent this large influx of foreign paupers. It was proved that between 1899 and 1904, 20,640 of these aliens had been committed to prison for various crimes, costing the taxpayer £30,000 a year to keep them, while at least another £30,000 a year had to be paid by the ratepayers through the Boards of Guardians to keep those in our workhouses and hospitals. Three new contagious diseases were brought into this country by them.

At last, in 1905, the Unionist Government remedied the evil by **The Immigrant Aliens Act** already mentioned, which, although opposed by the Radicals at *every stage*, passed *both* Houses with large majorities and is now the law of the land. Another instance of good work initiated by the House of Lords and finally resulting in valuable legislation for the people.

“Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act.”—This Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Cranbrook (C.), and passed its second reading February 16th, 1891, but it did not pass the House of Commons till September, 1893—two years after.

“Inspection of Workshops,” 1891.—Lord Thring and Lord Dunraven each brought in a Bill for this object, which was read a second time in the House of Lords, but the House of Commons could not find time to deal with this subject.

“Employment of Discharged Soldiers in Government Offices.”—Lord Minto (L.U.), on May 18th, 1893, moved that something should be done in this direction, but up to the present (1907) little further has been done, though it was supported by the whole House of Lords.

“Land Transfer Bill,” 1893.—This was a Bill to facilitate and cheapen the transfer of land—to help landlords, farmers and labourers alike—and relieve depressed agriculture. Passed second reading in the House of Lords April 20th. Afterwards rejected in the House of Commons.

Agriculture may be “bleeding to death,” but no relief could be got from a Radical House of Commons, and the matter was postponed till a Unionist Government dealt with it by a Land Transfer Act in 1897.

“Labour Conciliation Bill,” 1893.—Introduced into the House of Commons by Sir J. Lubbock (L.U.) (Lord Avebury).

Its object was to prevent strikes and lock-outs—by providing a **board of conciliation** for the settlement of all disputes between employers and workmen.

It was supported by—

The London Trades Council.

The London Chamber of Commerce.

The London Conciliation Board.

The Radical Government (1894) **blocked** this Bill whenever it was put on the order book of the House. They refused to give any facilities for its progress, although they had taken the whole time of the House. At length, wearied by many weeks’ weary waiting, it was decided to introduce it into the House of Lords. It was supported by Lord Salisbury, Duke of Devonshire and many others. It passed the House of Lords, but was afterwards rejected by the Commons, although it was not a party measure, and would have been of great service to working men. The Bill was again introduced into the House of Lords in 1894, but after being read a second time, was dropped because the Government would give no facilities to secure its passing through the House of Commons.

Another striking instance of Radical “sympathy” with working men and their labour. The matter had to wait till it was dealt with by a Unionist Government in the most useful Conciliation (Trade Disputes) Act, 1896.

“Temperance Reform.”—This subject has been pressed forward frequently by members of the House of Lords. The Bishop of London’s “Intoxicating Liquors Bill” was read a first and second time in 1893. The Bishop of Chester’s Public House Scheme was also read a first and second time in the same year, but nothing was done by the House of Commons in this direction at that time.

Three Acts of Parliament since that time in the interests of "Temperance" have been placed upon the Statute Book—all passed by *both* Houses—introduced by the Unionist Government, and dealing with:—

1st—Sale of Intoxicating Liquor to Children.

2nd—Registration and Regulation of Clubs.

3rd—Extinction of Superfluous Licences and Compensation for those suppressed. An Act passed in the face of bitter Radical opposition.

These Acts will compare very favourably with the Radical Act creating Grocers' Licences, which has been so harmful in the encouragement of drunkenness among working men's wives and which is the only "Temperance" (?) legislation of the Liberal party in modern times, notwithstanding their constant boast of being the "Temperance Party."

"Hours of Railway Servants Bill," 1893.—This Bill was introduced into the House of Lords and passed by 64-26—majority 38, on June 22nd. It afterwards passed the House of Commons.

"Settled Land Act."—This reform, the greatest land reform of this century, was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Cairns (C.) in 1882 and passed. It was afterwards piloted through the House of Commons by Sir Richard Cross (C.).

Mr. Fowler (Radical lawyer) said, "This is a wise and safe step of true land reform; indeed he was surprised that the House of Lords should have passed such a sweeping measure of reform."

"Compensation to Workmen."—In 1884 Lord Salisbury caused to be adopted a Standing Order of the House of Lords that for every railway going through the metropolis compensation be given to disturbed workmen, and also a sufficient number of houses provided for those displaced by the railway. Care for the masses.

The Workmen's Compensation Act, introduced by a Unionist Government, was passed through both Houses in 1897, and its benefits were extended by a further Unionist Act in 1900.

These Acts give compensation in case of accident to the following workers:—

In Factories, Docks, Wharves...	...	...	3,600,000 persons.
In Mines ...	...	...	730,000 persons.
In Railways ...	...	...	465,000 persons.
In Quarries ...	...	...	104,000 persons.
Builders and Bricklayers ...	...	...	700,000 persons.
Navvies and Labourers...	...	...	800,000 persons.
Agricultural Labourers	...	...	900,000 persons.

Over seven millions of people have been given the right to compensation for every accident which occurs in the above

trades by these splendid Acts, by this Charter of Labour. There are 150,000 accidents in this country every year, and by giving Compensation to and protecting and providing for the fatherless children and widows of injured workmen, this splendid Act of 1897 justifies the character given to it by Mr. T. Greenall, the Pendlebury Miners' Agent, as "one of the grandest measures of modern times in the interests of the workers."

"Scotch Fisheries Bill, 1893."—This Bill, which proposed to levy a rate for the development of coast fisheries on every town and county in Scotland, except Glasgow (which was then Sir G. Trevelyan's constituency), was smuggled through the House of Commons in the small hours of the morning, and is a fair specimen of the usual "Radical Job." Sundry Town and County Councils in Scotland came begging at the door of the House of Lords to save them from the "jobbery" of a Radical Government. The Lords listened and responded, took out the objectionable rating clauses, and the ratepayers of "dear old Scotland" rejoiced that they had got a **House of Lords** which stops jobbery and robbery.

THE TRUCK ACTS.

An attempt was made during the Conservative ministry of the Duke of Wellington in 1830—Sir Robert Peel being Home Secretary—to legislate against the unjust system of paying workmen's wages in goods instead of in coin.

"Wages" which were often paid in bacon, cheese, tea, sugar, soap, candles, clogs, treacle, sausages, &c., could not truly be described as **wages**. . . . The effort to stop this system was strongly opposed by the Radicals, prominent among whom was Mr. Joseph Hume, their chief spokesman, who moved "that the Bill be read a second time that day six months."

This motion was defeated by a large majority, but in consequence of these obstructive tactics no further progress could be made before Parliament was dissolved for that year.

Next year (1831) it was re-introduced, and after much Radical opposition, was read a third time and passed, but ten days later Parliament was prorogued, and the Bill got no further.

Then on June 28, 1831, the Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Wharncliffe (C.).

The second reading was moved on July 7th by the same peer. He insisted that the Legislature had a right to say (to the employer): "Here is current coin of the realm; we insist on you paying your workman in that medium."

The Bill was read a second time, and passed through Committee without a division, thus showing the care of the House of Lords for the defenceless workman.

When the Bill got into the House of Commons, it was still opposed by the Radicals led by Mr. Hume, but in spite of this, the Bill passed the third reading, and for the **first time** in our history the **wages** of the workman were guaranteed to him in current coin, entirely owing to the action of the House of Lords.

Even Radicals have since admitted that this extension of the workmen's rights was a good thing for the country.

Further measures with the same beneficent objects have been passed by the Conservatives in 1874, 1887, and 1896.

The evil system of fines and other unjust deductions from workmen's wages have been almost completely stopped, and the word "**wages**" has now become a reality to workmen, whereas before this legislation was passed it was too often only a fraud and a sham.

THE LORDS AND THE EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY BILL, 1893.

What was this Bill? It professed to give protection and compensation to every working man who might meet with an accident in the course of his employment, or to his family in case of death, providing the accident was the fault of the employer or his workman.

If the accident was owing to the workman's own carelessness or to a purely accidental cause, no compensation could be awarded under the Bill.

EIGHTY out of **EVERY HUNDRED** accidents which occur all over the country are *pure accidents* (nobody's fault), and therefore could give rise to no claim for compensation whatever under the Government's Bill.

The Bill was valuable in two respects. It abolished what, under the Act of 1880, was called "common employment," by which no compensation could be given if the accident was the fault of a fellow-workman. It also did away with the old limit of claim, which was that no workman could claim more than *three years' wages* for any accident, however serious. This was a great hardship on apprentices and those workmen whose wages were small.

The Bill therefore up to that point was a good Bill.

Why was it not passed and made the law of the land? The difference arose about what is called "Contracting Out," the meaning of which is that there were certain firms in various parts of the country employing 350,000 workmen altogether, who had formed, by mutual agreement with their men,

Insurance Funds, to which the men contributed 2d., 3d., or 4d. each per week, the firms contributing about *three-fourths* of the total amount of the fund thus collected. Some firms, such as Tangye Bros., Birmingham, contributed the *whole* amount of the fund, without asking the men for a farthing.

The **use** of these **Insurance Funds** was that, whatever accident occurred to a workman,—no matter whose fault it might be—he or his family *at once* received compensation out of the Fund, according to a scale previously agreed upon by the men themselves. There was no loss of time; there was no trouble; there was no need to see a lawyer; the injured got more than three times as much money as he could have got under the Bill, if it had passed; consequently these **Insurance Funds** were of great benefit to working men and their families.

Those who were insured in these funds contracted not to avail themselves of the provisions of the Act of 1880. This was called “Contracting out,” which was to be prohibited in the case of the Bill of 1893.

Some of the chief firms who had these Funds were:—

The London and North Western Railway; The London and Brighton Railway; South Metropolitan Gas Company; Oldbury Alkali Company; Messrs. Armstrong and Company; Newcastle-on-Tyne; South Wales Miners’ Provident Society; Messrs. Tangye Brothers, Birmingham, &c., &c., &c.

Here is a case showing how these Funds worked:—

London and North Western Railway:—

		1891.	1892.
Contributed by the Company	...	£16,148	£17,475
Interest allowed on Men’s contribution	...	947	977
Total sum allowed by Company	...	£17,095	£18,452
Men’s contributions	...	<u>19,511</u>	<u>21,109</u>
Total Funds available for Compensation for Accidents	...	£36,606	£39,561

Thus the men received over £16,000 in 1891 and over £17,000 in 1892, presented to them by the Company, to be used as compensation in case of accident, besides allowing interest on all the contributions of the men themselves; what could be fairer than this? What could be more conducive to the men’s safety, to their families’ comfort, or to the cordial relations which ought to exist between employers and workmen?

If the Bill had passed in the form brought in by the Radical Government **all these Insurance Funds would have been destroyed at once.**

Mr. McLaren, M.P. for Crewe (Liberal), brought into the House of Commons an Amendment, backed up by all the Unionist Party, which would have prevented the men being

deprived of their Insurance Funds. The Amendment was lost by 18 votes. The Government's mechanical majority prevailed against these men's interests. When the Bill reached the serener and more businesslike atmosphere of the House of Lords, **Lord Dudley**, who is himself a large employer of labour, moved a similar amendment to the one which had been moved by Mr. McLaren in the House of Commons, but of a more comprehensive character. Its purport was not only to protect the **existing Insurance Funds** of the workmen, but also to give similar protection to all other insurance funds which might be created within a specified time.

This resolution was carried by the Lords. The Lords carried the whole Bill. It was not mutilated; it was not rejected; the only alteration was a small addition affecting 350,000 workmen, whose funds required protection, which was effectually done by the Lords' Amendment.

When the Bill got back to the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone, on behalf of the Government, said the Bill "had been poisoned;" he therefore moved its rejection, and thus *destroyed* his own political child.

Two Hundred and Twenty-Five Radicals voted for the destruction of the Bill and only six against. None of the Unionist Party voted for its destruction. The working men of this country have therefore good ground of complaint against the Radical Government for destroying a Bill which would have given them greater protection and more compensation than they then possessed, and which had been improved by the House of Lords.

There were at that time 9,786,000 working men over 20 years of age in the United Kingdom, who would have been benefited by the Bill.

There were at the utmost only 350,000 workmen who would have been affected by the Lords' amendment. Therefore, because the Government did not agree with an amendment affecting 350,000 workmen, they *threw out their own Bill*, which would have conferred considerable benefits on 9,876,000 workmen. The motive evidently was to "spite" the House of Lords. What a piece of reckless political folly! A crime against the working classes.

Although the Bill would have caused much litigation, and filled the pockets of the lawyers with fees, it would have been better than the Act of 1880. But the Bill only gave compensation for 20 per cent. of the accidents which occur, and the Conservative Party would have preferred a Bill giving compensation for *all accidents*. To prove that this was the desire of the Unionist Party, while the Employers' Liability Bill was in Committee of the House of Commons, November 14th, 1893,

Sir E. Hill, Conservative Member for Bristol, moved resolutions giving compensation for *all* accidents, whether caused by negligence, failure of machinery, or other similar cause, so that no litigation, friction or discontent could occur, and the workman would receive *all* benefit instead of the lawyers.

This was voted for by every Conservative in the House of Commons at the time, but they were defeated by the Radical Government and its supporters, and it was left to a Unionist Government to secure this splendid reform for the workers by the Acts of 1897 and 1900.*

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND REFORM.

The action of the House of Lords has been much misrepresented on the question of Reform.

It has, however, borne its full share of the work of reform during modern times, along with, and as well as, the House of Commons. In some cases more than its share. It has corrected and improved the work of the House of Commons. In the Reform Bill of 1867, after months of discussion in the House of Commons, the principle of "Household Suffrage" was accepted by the Lords. The Bill was passed practically in the shape it left the Commons, except for one amendment granting a minority representative to all three-cornered constituencies, thus securing some amount of representation to the minority of large towns returning three members.

This arrangement lasted till 1884, when single-member constituencies became the rule under the Bill of that year.

WHAT ABOUT THE BILL OF 1884?

This Bill was intended to apply to the Counties the same principle (Household Suffrage) which Lord Derby and Benjamin Disraeli, by the Bill of 1867, had applied to the Boroughs.

When brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone, it was discovered to be a very *incomplete* measure, dealing only with the Franchise, and not touching the equally important question of Re-distribution of Seats. The effect of the Bill would have been to create masses of new voters without the slightest attempt to secure equality of representation.

Some time before this Mr. John Bright, M.P., had declared:—

"Repudiate without mercy any Bill of any Government, whatever its Franchise, whatever its seeming concession may be, if it does not distribute the seats which are obtained by the extinction of the small Boroughs amongst the great City and Town populations of the Kingdom. The question of Distribution is the very soul of the question of Reform, and unless you watch that you will be deceived."—See *Hansard*, vol. 182, page 1214, April 12th, 1866.

* See p. 51.

This advice was the key to the whole position. It explains the opposition both of the minority in the House of Commons as well as of the House of Lords to the "one-legged Bill" brought in by the Government. Many attempts were made in the Commons to compel, induce, or persuade the Ministry to bring in a complete measure (both Franchise and Re-distribution), but without avail. By their mechanical majority they forced the Bill through the House of Commons.

When presented to the House of Lords in this incomplete state, similar objections were urged. The Government were asked to include a Re-distribution Bill along with the Franchise Bill. This request was bluntly refused. Nothing then was left for the House of Lords to do but to block the Bill, not to allow it to proceed beyond the second reading until a **measure of Re-distribution of Seats should accompany the Franchise Bill** in accordance with the advice of Mr. John Bright quoted above.

The Lords, therefore, passed the following Resolution (moved by Lord Cairns) by a majority of 59:—

"That this House, while prepared to concur in the principles of representation contained in this Bill, does not think it right to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom, but which is not accompanied by provisions for so apportioning the right to return members as to ensure a true and fair representation of the people, or by any adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the present Bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme."—*Hansard*, vol. 290, col. 480.

The Lords, therefore, you see, had no objection to extend the Franchise, as is so often asserted they had. Their only objection was to an incomplete measure. They wished to prevent unjust and unfair representation in the country, by which, if the Bill had passed in its original shape, some constituencies of 500 voters would have been able to send a member to the House of Commons, while it would have taken 40,000 voters in other places to return a member.

The action of the Lords was justified by the facts of the case, and also by future events.

During the recess, the Government tried to get up an agitation against the Lords by stumping the country, and stating that the House of Lords was against the working classes, as they are trying to do now on the question of the Education Bill and the Plural Voting Bill. The agitation failed, as the present one will fail, because it was based on misrepresentation. The House of Lords stood firm though they were threatened by the Ministry; they remained true to the people, and it was the Ministry of Mr. Gladstone which had to give way. The Bill could not get beyond its second reading; it was not rejected; it was not mutilated; it was simply hung up like Mahomet's coffin, between heaven and earth, until the Government consented to complete it by bringing in a scheme of Re-distribution.

The Scheme of Re-distribution was brought in.

The Conservative leaders were asked to help the Government to mould into practical working shape the Re-distribution scheme of the Government. They consented to do this, and for weeks the late Lord Salisbury and the late Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh) were to be seen every day walking down to the Home Office arm in arm, to sit round a green table with Mr. Gladstone, Sir G. Trevelyan, and others, making a workable measure out of the Government Bill.

They succeeded, and the working classes in the counties and large towns have been the gainers by this action of the House of Lords. The Lords deserve the thanks of the country. Even the *Daily News* was so elated by the magnanimous action of the Conservative Leaders that it declared on December 26th, 1884:—

"The Franchise Bill is law. The Re-distribution Bill is as good as law. The measure is as much Lord Salisbury's and Sir Stafford Northcote's as it is Mr. Gladstone's and his colleagues." Again on November 26th the *Daily News* said : "In 1885 he (Lord Salisbury) co-operated with Mr. Gladstone to establish household suffrage in counties."

The Splendid Benefits conferred upon the Country by the Action of the House of Lords in insisting on Re-distribution.

By their courageous action in thus insisting, in the face of unscrupulous misrepresentation, that the Franchise Bill of 1884 should be made complete and just, the House of Lords secured for the people a satisfactory measure which had the following effects:—

It abolished many small, rotten, and pocket boroughs.

It gave many new members to populous places, and for the first time enfranchised many places where population, labour and property exist.

England and Wales—

It disfranchised in England and Wales—

These were disposed of as follows:—

London, which formerly had 22 members, now has 62—gain 40

Provincial Boroughs got additional members ... 26 „ 26

Counties created new constituencies 6 „ 6
Counties got additional members 66 „ 66

Counties got additional members 66 " 66

* This includes 6 new members allotted to England and Wales.

Scotland—

	SEATS
2 Boroughs returning 1 member each, merged in Counties ...	... 2
12 new seats allotted to Scotland ...	... 12
	<hr/>
	14
	<hr/>

NOTE.—Seven of which were allotted to Scotch Counties, and seven to Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Ireland—

	SEATS
22 Boroughs returning 1 member each, disfranchised ...	... 22
3 " 2 " lose one ...	... 3
	<hr/>
	25
	<hr/>

NOTE.—Twenty-one of these allotted to Irish Counties, and four given to Dublin and Belfast.

Thus 171 new members were allotted to the populous places in England, Scotland, and Ireland by the end of 1884 owing to the firm action of the House of Lords.

The members for London were increased from 22 to 62, therefore every voter in the metropolis got **three times** the political power he previously possessed.

Lancashire's members were increased from 33 to 58. Thus in that populous county every voter's power was nearly **doubled**.

Yorkshire was raised from 38 to 52 members—an increase of voting power of over one-third.

Durham	from 13 to 16 members	—increase <i>one-fourth</i> .
Scotland	" 60 to 72	" <i>one-fifth</i> .
Liverpool	" 3 to 9	" 300 per cent.
Birmingham	" 3 to 7	" 130 "
Manchester	" 3 to 6	" 100 "
Glasgow	" 3 to 7	" 130 "
Sheffield	" 2 to 5	" 150 "
Leeds	" 3 to 5	" 70 "
Salford	" 2 to 3	" 35 "

and all the other populous places throughout the country in proportion.

Thus the liberty and political power of the voters, especially in working-class constituencies, throughout the country were largely increased. Rotten and pocket boroughs were abolished, anomalies were diminished, and a much more just and uniform basis of representation was brought about, *entirely owing to the firm stand taken up by the House of Lords* when the Bill was sent up to them from the House of Commons.

Every voter in every new constituency who had not a vote previous to 1884 owes a debt of gratitude to the Lords for his present political power.

We have here, therefore, another instance confirming the House of Lords' past glorious record—of the way that that

House is careful of the liberties of the people, by conferring by just and wise measures more freedom and a wider franchise on the working classes throughout the country.

The following extract from a speech of Lord Rosebery at Liverpool, December 3rd, 1884, justifies the House of Lords, and also confirms the foregoing statement. He says:—

"The result was a Re-distribution Bill, which no Government, however Liberal a Government, would have the courage hardly to bring in without the support of the Conservative leaders . . . It had been considered universally a most admirable arrangement. He ventured to say that it was creditable in the first place to the Government, and creditable in the second place to the Opposition."

Therefore complete representation, full political power, and a fair share in the government of the country, are gifts secured by the House of Lords to the working classes.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE HOME RULE BILL, 1893.

From the nature of this Bill its title should have been the "Disruption Bill," because had it passed the House of Lords its certain and almost immediate effect would have been to destroy the unity of this country, by separating Ireland from the rest of the United Kingdom.

The Lords, however, refused to pass this Bill, and for that "crime" they were to be disestablished; their independent character was to be taken away; they were to be reduced to the position of saying "ditto!" to the House of Commons, and all this because they preferred to preserve and strengthen—instead of destroying—our Empire.

The House of Lords met all this rant by calmly demanding that the Government should appeal to the country to judge between their action and that of the House of Commons. The Government refused to do this till 1895, saying (as they say in 1907 with regard to the Education Bill) that they refused to be dictated to by the Lords as to the time when they should dissolve and that they were "filling up the cup" of the Lords' iniquities.

At length, in 1895, they were forced to appeal to the people, who, by an overwhelming majority,* declared that the *House of Lords had represented them in this matter far more truly than the House of Commons.*

What does this mean? It means that, *if there had been no House of Lords, the Home Rule Bill would have become law in the teeth of the wishes of the people.*

Why did the Lords throw out the Bill?

Because the Bill was never submitted to the electors of this country. Its provisions were kept secret; it was only disclosed in the House of Commons in February, 1893, while the General Election occurred in July, 1892.

* The Unionist majority after the General Election of 1895 was 152.

The Lords, therefore, by their decision referred the Bill back to the country for the approval or refusal of the electors through the ballot boxes before they would consent to pass such a ruinous measure.

They are thus standing up for the **liberty** of the **people**, insisting that their consent should be obtained before asking them to submit to a law of this character to which they had not given their approval in the polling booth.

Because by this Bill a financial state of affairs would have been set up, which would have been intolerable and unjust, both to the working classes, and also to the general taxpayer of this country.

Every man, woman, and child in Great Britain would have had to pay 37s. per head of Imperial taxation, while the Irish would have been let off for 6s. 6d. per head.

Thus forcing the Englishman to pay nearly **six times** as much taxes as the Irishman.

Thus intimating that **one** Irishman is as good as **six** Englishmen.

This is far from the experience of those who know the Irish, and would be an intolerable position for the Englishman to occupy.

Take a case by way of illustration:—

Suppose two constituencies of 10,000 electors each—which is about the average number—*one* in England and the other in Ireland. Population 65,000. If the Home Rule Bill had passed as proposed, the English constituency would have had to pay for Imperial taxation alone—

£120,250 a year.

The Irish constituency would only have paid:—

£21,125 a year.

Difference against the Englishman and in favour of the Irishman of—

£99,125 a year.

Such was the unjust burden which would have been put upon the labour of every constituency in England by the Radical Home Rulers.

Surely trade was bad enough; surely working men had poverty enough and burdens enough without being further loaded and oppressed by a Government which cared only for Irishmen while they left Englishmen to starve.

The House of Lords stood up and saved us from these financial iniquities.

Because the proposers of this Bill arranged to set up in Dublin a practically independent Parliament, consisting of *two* Houses—a House of Lords and a House of Commons—in which Englishmen were to have no voice.

NOTE.—Did they intend this for a joke? It seems too funny to be true that the party who are clamouring *against* a Second Chamber in England should be the very men who, when they had a new Parliament to propose, proposed to set up a Second Chamber in Dublin, just as they are setting up a second chamber in the Transvaal in 1907. (Radical Consistency?)

There is no accounting for the follies of Radicals. Their “Upper House” in Dublin was to consist of 48 members, elected for **eight years**, on a property franchise of £20 a year.

Here you have two astonishing proposals:—

The party who are deluding the working classes about *shorter Parliaments* tried to establish a chamber to sit *eight years*.

The party who have been boasting about abolishing property qualifications invent a new property qualification for their “patent Parliament” in Dublin.

The House of Lords again saved us from this folly.

Another monstrous proposal was that besides giving Ireland a practically independent Parliament in Dublin we in England were to be “blessed” with 80 Irishmen coming to Westminster to sit in our Parliament, while no English members could go over to Dublin to sit in theirs.

What a *nice sense of justice* the framer of this Bill must have had!

Here we have it seriously laid down by these proposals that an Irishman is so clever, such a great genius, such an able statesman, that he can sit in *two* Parliaments—manage the affairs of *two* nations and have time to spare—while an Englishman is such an idiot, so inexperienced, so incapable, that he cannot manage his own affairs unless he gets 80 Irishmen from Dublin to help him. Nice, isn’t it?

And what, pray, were these 80 men going to do in our Parliament?

They were going to make laws for us to obey!
 They were going to impose taxes for us to pay!
 They were going to interfere with our labour laws!
 They were going to upset our Ministries!
 They were going to increase our burdens!
 They were going to interfere with all our Home,
 Foreign, and Colonial affairs,

and yet were *not* going to be responsible to any British constituency. No English elector would be able to call them to account, and the old doctrine which the Radicals used to shout from every platform, “No taxation without representation,”

be thrown to the winds. And all this for the sake of purchasing 80 Irish votes in the House of Commons. What a price to pay for them! Again the House of Lords has saved the country and the British electors from these proposed political abominations.

And yet the Radicals say "the House of Lords is of no use!"

There was **another** curious thing about this arrangement which would be comical if it were not so serious. By the terms of the Bill all people living in £20 houses would have a vote for a member of the Irish House of Lords.

All persons living in any sort of a mud cabin would have a vote for a member of the Irish House of Commons. Further,

All persons who could vote for the latter would also have a vote for one of the eighty "patriots," who would kindly come over here to **regulate our Parliamentary affairs.**

That is funny, isn't it? Most Irishmen would have **three** votes, while **every** Irishman would have **two** votes. It means one Englishman **one** vote and **one** Parliament. One Irishman **three** votes and **two** Parliaments. Is there anything further they would like to give the Irishman at the expense of the Englishmen? Mind, all this political perversions came from the party who are trying to bamboozle the English elector by the cry of "**One man one vote.**" But again the House of Lords saved us from this monstrosity.

And where was poor Ulster to come in amongst all this?

Well, it seems that the Protestants of Ulster were to be put under the heel of Archbishop Walsh. That Ulster was to have the privilege of paying nearly all the taxation of Ireland, while Messrs. John Redmond and Co. were to descend to sit in the high places in Dublin; hold out their hands for their big salaries; impose protective tariffs against English goods going to Ireland, and generally to play "old gooseberry" with everything English, while British working men were to *pay for* all this political sport. How nice!

Irishmen think that they can persuade Englishmen to stand anything if they only use plenty of "blarney," and this Home Rule craze is a case in point.

Because the Bill, moreover, had never been properly considered. Not only had it never had the sanction of the electors; it had not received due debate, discussion, or consideration from the people's representatives, which is absolutely requisite to every Bill. The mouths of the members were closed by the gag. Less than *one quarter* of the Bill was debated. Twenty-six out of thirty-seven clauses were never discussed at all. Therefore **it was the duty** of the House of Lords to throw out any Bill which came to them from the House of Commons under these conditions.

They have, therefore, saved us from unjust taxation; from splitting up our Empire; from coercion by 80 Irishmen; from ruin of our English industries; from religious oppression and civil war in Ulster; from being governed by the gag; from new property qualification, and two unworkable Parliaments; and last, though not least, the House of Lords has saved us from presenting the sad spectacle to the rest of our fellow subjects all over the world; that while we profess to govern four hundred millions of people in every clime, to give light and civilization in all the dark places of the earth; yet we are too feeble, foolish, or decrepit to be able to govern a few rebel and discontented Irishmen at our own doors and in our own islands.

The rejection of this Bill is another instance of the sagacity, love of liberty, and enlightened statesmanship of **the House of Lords**.

Radicals often cried: "Down with the House of Lords!"

In connection with the agitation against the House of Lords, the opinion of Mr. John Redmond, M.P., may perhaps interest *some* Radicals; he says:—

"Two proposals have been made in regard to the House of Lords.

"One is to abolish the institution altogether, the other is to abolish its veto.

"How long does any man in his senses think it would take to carry the former proposal into effect? Does anyone really believe that without another Revolution the House of Lords could be abolished within the next fifty years? And does anyone really believe in the possibility of another Revolution, within the same period, directed against a fundamental part of the Constitution under which England has grown to be a first-class Power and English liberty has been irrevocably established?" * * * * *

"Neither the English, nor the Scotch, nor the Welsh people have just now (1893) any case whatever for an uprising against the House of Lords." * * *

"It would be nothing short of sheer nonsense to go to the people of Great Britain on such a case as this (Rejection of the Home Rule Bill) against the House of Lords." * * * * *

"The House of Lords never resisted the will of the people clearly expressed."—*19th Century*, Nov. 1893, p. 668.

The Rejection of the Bill.

After four days' debate the House of Lords rejected the Home Rule Bill on the second reading for the reasons given above.

Out of the total members of the House of Lords (575) no less than 460 were present to vote on the Bill:—

There voted for the Bill	...	...	...	41
Voted against the Bill	...	...	...	419
Majority against the Bill	...		378	

being a larger majority than ever was declared either for or against any Bill this century; showing the interest the Peers took in the subject.

The following details of the division may be of interest to voters and students.

Mr. Gladstone had created 86 Peers.

There were 62 of Mr. Gladstone's Peers members of the House of Lords when the Home Rule Bill was before it.

What became of the 62 Gladstonian Peers?

There voted for the Bill ...	...	...	...	24	of these Peers.
There voted against the Bill ...	...	...	...	29	"
Did not vote ...	...	...	...	9	"
				—	—
				62	

Of the 24 Gladstonian Peers who voted for the Bill not less than **twenty-one** held office in the Ministry, and received in the shape of salary £70,000 a year. Must we charitably assume that these twenty-one voters were entirely "disinterested"?

This leaves only **three** Gladstonian Peers who voted *independently* for the Bill.

The Radicals—including Lord Rosebery—sometimes complain that the House of Lords is too Conservative, and that the Home Rule Bill was thrown out by Tory votes. This is an entire mistake. If there had not been a single Tory or Unionist Peer in the House at the time, and if the Bill had been left to be dealt with by the Gladstonian Peers alone, the Bill would have been rejected by a majority of five votes, and if we deduct the officials, there would have been a majority of 26 votes against the Bill, consisting entirely of men who owed their elevation to Mr. Gladstone, who raised them to the peerage because they were such **good Liberals**.

Here is Britain's justification for the action of the House of Lords in rejecting this Bill. Out of **one hundred and sixty-six** divisions which took place in the House of Commons on the few clauses which were allowed to be discussed, in every case there was a **British majority**, ranging from 2 to 39 *against* the Government and their Bill, giving an *average* majority of about 25 British representatives against the Home Rule proposals, which were carried in the House of Commons solely by the votes of the Irish Nationalists, whom Mr. Gladstone had himself described as wishing "to march through rapine to the disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire." (Knowsley, Oct. 27, 1881.)* Lord Rosebery might well express his doubts and fears on the subject, and beg for the conversion of the "predominant partner."

The members representing the population, wealth, labour, education, and experience in Great Britain refused the Bill and all its iniquities. Therefore, the House of Lords has been

* The second reading was carried by a majority of 43, 54 Irishmen voting for it. Against it there was a British majority of 12 and an English majority of 71.

Fully Justified

when they threw out the Home Rule Bill.

Mr. Gladstone justifies them :—

"I will not be a party to giving Ireland a legislative body to manage Irish concerns, and at the same time to having Irish members in London acting and voting on English and Scotch questions."—At Manchester, June 25th, 1886.

All Unionists say " Hear, Hear!"

The present Government, or shall we say the "**Disruption Party**," promise to bring in another Home Rule Bill this year, but it is not to be called Home Rule—oh no! A stench by any other name would smell as sweet. It is now to be brought forward under some new-fangled high-sounding title, which will satisfy Mr. John Redmond, which will not alarm the weak-kneed Liberals, but which will be **Home Rule** all the same. A scheme concocted in Dublin Castle, by Home Rule officials to suit the 80 disloyal "patriots" leading up to the "**Larger Policy**," which every honest politician will see is **Home Rule** and nothing else.

Shall we have to exclaim once more "Thank God, we have still a House of Lords?"

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE EDUCATION BILL (1906).

The latest charge by the Radicals against the House of Lords is that the Peers have seriously "*blotted their copy books*" by refusing to accept without amendment the "Spoliation Bill," miscalled an Education Bill, when it was sent up to them from the House of Commons.

What was the Bill like, and what did it propose to do? It was not an Education Bill at all. By the first clause—

It took away from the present owners and trustees all the voluntary schools—by **force**, unless an agreement was made—

Is that **Robbery** or is it not?

Then the Bill proposed only one kind of religious teaching (Cowper-Templeism) in the schools in school hours—and not even *that*, unless the local authority chose to allow it!

Is that not banishing Church of England and Roman Catholic teaching and establishing and endowing a State-made religion to suit the Nonconformists? For Cowper-Templeism was to be paid for out of everybody's rates.

In the vast majority of Voluntary Schools the utmost concession to the religious convictions of those who built the schools and of those parents who desired more definite religious teaching for their children was to permit some outsider (for the regular school teachers were forbidden to do it, however willing they might be) to come and teach their parents' faith to such children as chose to attend on two mornings a week out of school hours!

Then by Clause 4 the Bill *professed* to give further special facilities to denominational schools to teach denominational religion in them if eighty out of every hundred of the parents

desired it—also if the consent of the local authority could be obtained and if the district contained over 5,000 inhabitants and also if the district was in a town and not in the country and if there was convenient school accommodation for the children of those who did not want such teaching in the neighbourhood.

And the Radical authors of the Bill call this “**giving facilities**”!

We may here ask—Why should a child’s religious education depend on whether there are 5,000 inhabitants in a district—or 1,000 or 500 or 50?

What has the size of a district to do with the question at all? And why should there be one law for the town and another for the country, unless the special object was to injure the Church of England Schools which are mostly in the country?

Further—Why should 80 out of every 100 parents be required to vote in order to get religious teaching for children? This seems folly, because 21 parents could prevent religious teaching, and could thus upset and thwart the wishes of the 79 who wished for it.

In all other things majorities rule in this country, and why not in this?

“Minorities must suffer,” said Mr. Birrell, in introducing the Bill. But it seems as if even small minorities are to rule—when they are Nonconformist! And even great majorities are to suffer,—when they are *not*!

Again, why should a child’s education be regulated by these miserable vulgar fractions?

Then again, why should the spiritual welfare of the nation depend so entirely upon the consent of any Town or County Council?

These men are elected for a totally different purpose. Their qualifications are supposed to be a knowledge of sanitation, of buildings, of roads, of gas and water, of bridges, &c., and they may be totally *unfit* to judge of religious questions. It would fill every district in the land with religious election squabbles.

Besides all this, religious parents strongly object to have the spiritual welfare of their children mixed up with gas, water, paving stones, and drain pipes.

There are about 12,000 voluntary schools under trust deeds, and the conditions of most of those trusts are that the children of the poor shall be educated **in the faith** of the founder of the school, whether Church of England or any other Church.

Under the Bill all these trustees might be required to break their trusts, give up their schools to the State, on pain of having a visit from the policeman to compel them to do so.

Does this look like **Robbery**?

Charles the First lost his head for a less political crime than this, and the Radicals deserve to lose their seats for supporting this unjust treatment of the schools—this robbery by Act of Parliament.

How were they going to carry it out?

Well, a Radical is nothing if not sensational.

They went back to the Middle Ages for their model of action.

Henry VII. (1487) invented a body called the "**Star Chamber**," consisting of three men, who tried suspected persons secretly, and from whom there was *no appeal*.

The present Radical Government, in order to carry out the drastic proposals of this "Spoliation Bill," were also, in imitation of Henry VII., going to create a **Star Chamber**, consisting of three men, who should have power, **forcibly**, if necessary, to take over our schools, either with or *without* the consent of their owners.

And from their decision there was to be no appeal to any Court (Cl. 8, Sec. 4).

Even criminals in this country have *some* chance of appeal to a higher court, but the poor school trustee, under this shameful Bill, had **no appeal** from the decisions of this Radical Star Chamber!

The old Star Chamber was abolished under Charles II. (1641) because it was inconsistent with the then fast-growing British freedom, but we have had to wait for the advent of a Radical Government in the twentieth century to endeavour to bring back the tyranny and injustice of 420 years ago.

Truly the Radical is a progressive animal—like a crab, he progresses backward.

We are told by these Progressives (perhaps they intend it as a joke) that at the last general election the people gave them a "mandate" (blessed word) to do all this mischief, when the fact is that not one voter out of a million knew, or could possibly have known, what the proposals of the Government's Education Bill were to be.

When this apology for an Education Bill was sent up to the House of Lords, *not one half* of its 40 clauses had been discussed in the House of Commons; as in the case of the Home Rule Bill, the rest had been forced through the House by means of the **gag**.

There, it was carefully considered, clause by clause, several amendments were put in, making the Bill a rather more workable and less unjust measure than it was when they received it.

The principal changes introduced by the Lords into the Bill as it came to them from the House of Commons were as follows:—

- 1st. The Commons left it to the Local Authority to say whether there should be any religious teaching in the schools in their charge or none at all.

The Lords provided that there must be religious teaching of some sort in all the schools.

- 2nd. The Commons said no child *need* attend school during the time set apart for religious teaching.

The Lords provided that all children *must* attend school during that time (unless the parent caused them to attend religious teaching elsewhere), but secular teaching was to be provided during that time for the children of such parents as objected to religious teaching.

- 3rd. The Commons left it entirely at the option of the Local Authority whether they would take over a school or not, with a right of appeal to the Commissioners if they could not come to an agreement with the owners.

The Lords gave a similar right of appeal to the owners, if the Local Authority refused to take over a school that was structurally fit.

- 4th. The Commons refused to allow the regular teachers to give denominational teaching (even though willing to do it *not* at the public expense) in denominational schools transferred to the Local Authority, except that the Local Authority *might* allow it in schools with "extended facilities."

The Lords permitted the regular teacher to give this instruction, if willing, in all transferred schools.

- 5th. According to the Commons extended facilities under Clause 4 were only to be allowed subject to the restrictions already mentioned on pp. 69 and 70.

The Lords greatly modified these restrictions, removing the limit of area and population and making it compulsory on the Local Authority to grant the extended facilities if the parents of *two-thirds* of the children whose parents took part in a ballot wished for them, provided that accommodation was supplied for the children of such parents as did not desire to avail themselves of these facilities. The Local Authority was to satisfy itself, in the case of these schools, that the teachers were willing and *qualified* to give the special religious instruction.

These reasonable amendments, when the Bill was sent to the House of Commons, were received by its members with protests and derision.

Instead of these amendments being considered and discussed *seriatim*, as they ought to have been, the Bill was sent back to the House of Lords with the amendments refused "*en bloc*," and thus the Bill and amendments were thrown back into the faces of the Peers, who were told either to pass it or leave it, as they pleased.

They left it!

It was sent back again to the House of Commons unchanged. The Government dropped the Bill, and thus destroyed their own political child, having practically wasted eight months of the time of the House of Commons.

We are now threatened with a severe campaign in the country against the House of Lords, similar to those we have had before in 1884 over the Reform Bill, and in 1894 over the Home Rule Bill, but the Peers know perfectly well, notwithstanding the Radical cry of "**Mandate**" that the people of this country are *with them* in this matter, and the Government dare not ask for their verdict. The people have never been consulted on the details of this Bill, and until such a decision has been given, the threatened attack on the House of Lords will be about as effective as trying to bombard the Rock of Gibraltar with a boy's pop-gun.

You cannot drown a duck by pouring a quart of water on its back.

Greater men than Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman have tried a fall with the House of Lords without success, and he will share the fate of his predecessors—if he tries.

WORK OF HOUSE OF LORDS.—CHARACTER OF DEBATES.

Look at the House of Lords in another light—as a practical working assembly; examine its debates; notice the way it deals with the questions before it. While the House of Commons is splitting hairs, fretting over obstruction which it is powerless to stop, wrangling over a quibble, wasting the public time, hindering legislation, preventing the business of the country being conducted with that despatch which its needs require, the House of Lords, on the other hand, sets itself earnestly to solve the political problems presented to it, does not consume a tithe of the public time, nor prevent the passing of *one quarter* the measures that the House of Commons does.

No imperious overbearing minister in the House of Lords *stops* the full discussion of any subject, bill or motion by means of the **gag** as is so often done in the House of Commons.

Every subject, therefore, gets fair play and full consideration.

DEBATES.

Then, again, look at the debates. If you desire logic, eloquence, force, and beauty of language, combined with calm reason and dignified demeanour, you have them in the House of Lords.

If you wish to see a subject dealt with on its merits, in a statesmanlike and judicial manner, suited to the gravity and importance of law-making, you will find it in the House of Lords. Should you wish to see a debate carried on free from personalities and the attribution of bad motives, you will find it there. From whatever point of view you look, whether of wisdom, knowledge, logic, eloquence, felicity of diction, or grasp of subject, there is no company of gentlemen in the world can surpass, and probably none can equal the assembly of the peers.

The following important testimony bears upon this point:—

"While the House of Commons devotes weeks of aimless and arid palaver to a single clause, the House of Lords will, without incurring the least suspicion of hastiness, mould an intricate Bill into shape in a few sittings. During the last session of Parliament, while the House of Commons was exhausting its entire energies over a single Irish Bill, the House of Lords had already introduced, discussed, and passed through all the possible stages a Tithe Rent Charge Bill, a Land Transfer Bill, a Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill, a Glebe Lands Bill, an Irish Land Bill, a Railway and a Canal Traffic Bill, and a Church Reform Bill. At a time when rancour and vulgarity contend for the prior place in the speeches of a section of the House of Commons, and its debates are degraded into unseemly brawls, the discussions of the House of Lords always move on the same lofty plane of courtesy, dignity, and decorum. The House of Commons is frequently turbulent and insubordinate to constituted authority. With no Speaker and no power of suspension, the House of Lords is incapable of a breach of manners. The House of Commons is the playground of jesters and the paradise of bores. The House of Lords extinguishes the jester by a chilling silence, and exterminates the bore by a buzz of sound. In the House of Commons the worst of speeches are made by the most inferior of men. In the House of Lords authoritative utterances fall from the lips of those best qualified to speak; and mute inglorious Ciceros are not tempted by the fussy pride of constituents to emerge from an obscurity which is honourable even where it is profound."—The Hon. G. N. CURZON, M.P., *National Review*, March, 1888.

Mr. W. E. Gladstone's opinion on this point may perhaps satisfy a few fair-minded Liberals:—

"When I for one speak of the independence of the House of Lords, I speak of that which is no mere name, a phantom—but of that which I am anxious to see maintained in practice as well as in the code, as a sacred part of our constitution and to which I attach a value second only to the value which I attach to the privileges of this House."—(*Hansard*, vol. 147, p. 176.)

USES OF HOUSE OF LORDS.

On the uses of the House of Lords we must be brief, though the subject is prolific and tempting. A few hints must suffice.

We have already noticed their great services in the past, their courage and devotion to the interests of the country. We see before our eyes how well they fulfil their duties in the present by the laws which they assist in passing, while they curb the impetuosity of the Commons on the one side, and would be ready, if necessary, to withstand a threatened encroachment of the Crown on the other, as they have in the past. I would commend the words of Blackstone on this subject, when he says (sec. 157-8):—

"The distinction of rank and honour is necessary in every well-governed State, in order to reward such as are eminent for their services to the public, in a manner the most desirable to individuals, and yet without burden to the community: exciting thereby an ambitious yet laudable ardour and generous emulation in others. Such a spirit, when nationally diffused, gives life and vigour to the community, which, under a wise regulator, may be directed to any beneficial purpose. A body of nobility is also more peculiarly necessary in our mixed constitution, in order to support both the rights of the Crown and the people, by forming a barrier to withstand the encroachments of both. It creates and preserves that gradual state of dignity which proceeds from the peasant to the prince, rising like a pyramid from a broad foundation, and diminishing to a point as it rises."

Besides its full share of legislative work of every session, the House of Lords serves another and almost as important a purpose in its capacity of "The Final Court of Appeal," for all causes, ecclesiastical and civil. Its decisions carry with them the weight which perhaps no other court differently composed could possibly do. It is the embodiment of the judicial mind of the nation. No other court could perform those functions in as complete and satisfactory a manner as that in which they are now performed by the House of Lords.

"This jurisdiction, originally exercised by the whole House, has since 1844 been left to the Law Lords, that is the Lord Chancellor, and other peers holding, or having held, high legal positions. By more recent acts, four Lords of Appeal are especially appointed to exercise this jurisdiction, under the presidency of the Lord Chancellor. But any other legal peer, and theoretically any peer whatever, retains the right to attend and deliver judgment."—(See *Constitutional Year Book*, 1894, page 60).

A striking instance of the value of this Court of Appeal has just (December, 1906) been afforded in what was termed the "West Riding Judgment."

This was a case where the (Radical) West Riding County Council had deducted about ten per cent. from the salaries of the working schoolmasters in the voluntary schools because of the time occupied in giving religious (denominational) instruction to the children. (Just like a Radical trick this.)

The schoolmasters went to law and won the case.

Then the County Council appealed to a higher court and the decision of the Lower Court was reversed.

Finally the schoolmasters appealed to the highest court in the land—the House of Lords.

The Court consisted of eight judges, five Conservatives, two Liberals, one Liberal-Unionist (including four Lords of Appeal).

They **decided unanimously** in *favour* of the school-masters and *against* the West Riding County Council, holding that the Act of 1902 authorises the teachers to give religious instruction as part of their regular daily duties.

CONFERRING OF TITLES.

The title of "peer" is generally conferred upon men for some *great public service*, which, as a rule, they have spent the best part of their lives in performing; some successful general, who has led his country to victory in a *hundred fights*, upheld the honour of his nation and his flag in every clime; or some great man, *eminent* in science or literature, who, by his studies or writings, has advanced our knowledge of philosophy or of mankind, and enabled us to ameliorate the lot of the human race, gain bloodless victories over the material elements, and add considerably to the general wealth of the nation; or some faithful and persevering political servant of the State, who may have expended the cares of half a lifetime in the senate, the energies of an active and master mind in efforts to improve the position of his countrymen; by trying to pass laws to increase political liberty, whose grand result will be happiness to toiling millions, and add greatness to the country which has the honour to claim him as a citizen.

MEN WHO ARE ENNOBLED.

It is men such as these on whom titles of nobility are usually conferred. And why should they not be ennobled? Why should not the best gifts which the country can confer be offered to *them*? How else could you reward them? If a niche in the "Temple of Fame," a step on the ladder of distinction, or the just applause of their country, will satisfy them for their great services, where is the man who will grudge it? Who would act the part of the dog in the manger, and say "No"? And why, we may ask, should we not provide these distinctions for the best of our people? Why should not this spirit of personal worth be exalted? Does a man toil from morn to eve, from January to December, in literature, in art, in science, merely for the sake of getting sufficient food to keep him alive? Is it merely for a little more or less of the dross of this world's goods that they rise early, and late take their rest? A moment's reflection will suffice to give an answer. Is it not rather that they may stand well with their neighbours, with their family, with their country? Is it not that they may leave a good name, a bright example to their children and to all who follow them? Are the toils and difficulties of life contended with and overcome merely to satisfy the desire for ease—or is it not, rather, that unselfish and noble desire to leave the world better than they found it; to give the children

who follow them a better chance, a brighter position, than they themselves ever had? It is motives like these which have actuated many of our *nobles*. Can we say this is wrong? Do we not rather commend it as a good thing, and tell our sons as far as possible to imitate it?

If this, therefore, be the spirit which has contributed largely to fill our House of Lords, can we wonder that it has the reputation of being the *first* assembly of gentlemen in the world? Is not this the cause which makes it command the respect, emulation, and confidence of the great bulk of their admiring countrymen?

ORIGIN OF TITLES.

It is the fashion in some quarters to say that the bulk of the aristocracy owe their origin to the licentiousness of kings, the corruption of princes, or the vicious panderings to and flattery of some great man with sufficient influence to induce the conferring of a title. Whoever will look into the origin of our aristocratic families will find that such a representation is far from the truth, notwithstanding the old *stereotyped* stories of Charles II. We find the dukedom of Leeds owes its origin to trade, as also do the earldoms of Suffolk (extinct), Craven, Radnor, and Feversham; likewise the baronies of Ashburton, Carrington, Overstone, Wolverton, Belper, Masham, Joicey, Ashton, Armstrong, and others. This list does not by any means represent the whole of the nobles who are interested in trade, but simply explains the *origin* of those titles. We may say that a large proportion of the peerage is *directly* interested in trade; about seventy of the other titles originated in the law, sixty in the army and navy, sixteen were conferred on Speakers of the House of Commons, sixteen on Lord Mayors of London, twelve were new titles given to ancient Irish and Scottish chieftains, nine were held by Prime Ministers, fifteen belong to foreign, *i.e.*, ancient Norman, Danish and other nobles; while the balance is made up of those who have been ennobled for eminent Scientific, literary, political, and other services. Sir E. Creasy echoes the sentiments of Hallam, Macintosh, and nearly all our great historians when he says:—

USE OF TITLES.

"When it is remembered also to how *large* an extent the Upper House is continually recruited from the commonalty: how a peerage is the stimulus for energy, and the valued prize of eminence, there are few, or none, but will rejoice in the permanence and desire the stability of our House of Lords. Men of constitutional principles will naturally cling to the Peers of England—'Pillars of the State.' And even the most vehement reformer must on reflection feel their value. The necessity for a second legislative chamber is almost universally admitted, nor could a speculator frame one that would work better than our present peerage. Such a second chamber, in order to be of the least use, must not be a mere duplicate of the House of Commons."

CROMWELL AND HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nearly every one of the American constitutional writers, such as Kent, Story, and Professor Lieber, especially the latter (*Civil Liberty and Self Government*, p. 157) has eulogised the English parliamentary system as being as near perfection as possible. The necessity for a second chamber has been shown in every great crisis of our history; when the liberties of the nation have been threatened, either from the side of a too impetuous democracy, or from that of an infatuated monarchy. The proof also of its utility is strongly manifested in the fact that Cromwell, when he had arrived at the apex of his ambition, *completely subjugated* both Houses of Parliament, and abolished the Lords,* found himself unable to carry on the business of the country, even in the rude and imperfect state in which it then was, without an Upper House of Parliament.

Several of the present Ministers and others have referred to the example of Cromwell as a precedent for abolishing the House of Lords. Mr. Lloyd-George, M.P., in a speech the other day, said "that the two **greatest** men," in his opinion, "in English history were Oliver Cromwell and Dr. Clifford." He evidently forgets that Cromwell also abolished the House of Commons. Are we to follow his example in the case of the Lords and stop short—not follow his example in dealing with the Commons? Is this another bit of inconvenient history for the Radical? Let me remind our enthusiastic Radical abolitionist of one or two facts relating to friend Oliver and his methods.

He instructed Colonel Pride to *expel* the Presbyterian majority from the House of Commons, which was done. A very forcible instance of "**gag.**"

The minority, 53 M.P.'s, then voted to bring King Charles to trial.

The House of Lords rejected this *illegal* resolution. This proceeding reminds one of their answer to the gagging methods over the Home Rule Bill and the Education Bill.

Cromwell instigated the House of Commons, therefore, to resolve that the House of Lords should be abolished—which was done.

Shortly after this, Cromwell goes to the House of Commons, orders the members out, locks the door, and puts the key in his pocket.

Is this what we are coming to under Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Lloyd-George, and Churchill?

Cromwell then appoints a Council of State, consisting of *nine officers and four civilians*, who write letters to various

* This is the general opinion. But it is right to add that some historians have doubted whether Cromwell supported the resolution in the Commons for the abolition of the House of Lords, believing that he desired to retain it as a Consultative Chamber. If so, it was a proof of his shrewd common sense!

Independent ministers, asking them to send names of men of their respective congregations whom *they think* fit to be members of Parliament. This was done. Cromwell and his precious Council then *selected* 139 names, and these became the "Barebones Parliament."

Not one of these so-called M.P.'s represented any constituency, nor had they been sent to the House of Commons by the votes of any voter, but each was *ordered* by Cromwell to sit as member for *so and so*, and for *such a place*—they were sorted out by the gentle Oliver like pigs in a pen.

Shortly afterwards even these political dummies don't please him, so he *again* goes down to the House, turns out **one hundred** members and allows the remainder to sit. Is this what *we* are coming to? He afterwards (in 1658) *tried to reconstitute the abolished House of Peers*; but owing to the violence of the Commons, and the fact that the *old and true peers* would not be made puppets of nor sit with the men whom Cromwell placed in their company, the scheme became abortive, and he was compelled to dissolve this his last Parliament because it was unworkable. (Hallam, and also Cassell, 3, 353-6.)

Here are the results which ought to be well pondered by all destructive Radicals, viz.:—Despotism, illegality, and crime.

"All illusion was now gone as to the pretended benefits of the civil war. It had ended in a despotism compared to which all the illegal practices of former Kings, all that had cost Charles his life and crown, appeared as dust in the balance." (Hallam, p. 465.)

We may thus summarise Cromwell's performances:—

1648—Expelled Presbyterian majority from the House of Commons.

1649—House of Lords abolished as "useless and dangerous."

1653—Expelled all the members of the House of Commons.

1654—Expelled 100 members of the House of Commons.

1656—Expelled 90 members of the House of Commons.

1657—Tries to set up new House of Lords and fails!

1658—Dissolves the new House of Commons—no business done.

1658—Dies without any Parliament.

We may say he strangled five Parliaments; abolished the House of Lords; beheaded the King; and made it a **crime** to read the Book of Common Prayer, even in private houses.

Facts like these from our own history are sufficient to show us that if a practical man like Cromwell could not con-

duct the business of the nation without the co-operation of a second chamber, how could we hope to do so in these times, when the business of Parliament is so much more important, extensive, and complicated than it was in the middle of the seventeenth century.

FEEBLE IMITATORS OF CROMWELL.—RADICAL PROPOSALS FOR DESTROYING THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Rosebery, knowing the folly of many of his Radical colleagues, gave them this bit of sound experience:—

"I have never yet met a reasonable human being who could tell me a constitutional measure by which you could put an end to the House of Lords."

Mr. Labouchere, M.P., made several attempts to accomplish the abolition or coercion of the House of Lords through the House of Commons, but failed on every occasion:—

Nov. 21, 1884.—Voted for his motion	...	...	...	71
Against	...	...	...	145
				—
	Majority	...	...	74
Mar. 5, 1886.—Voted for his motion	...	...	...	166
Against	...	...	...	202
				—
	Majority	...	...	36
Mar. 9, 1888.—Voted for his motion	...	...	...	162
Against	...	...	...	223
				—
	Majority	...	...	61

Then, as a last dying kick, he advocated the creation of 640 new Peers to be put into the House of Lords to **vote for their own extinction**.—("Truth," February 22, 1894.)

Then comes Mr. Cyril Dodd (Radical lawyer) and Mr. Gillam, with their proposal at the Liberal and Radical Union of London (February 13, 1894):—

For the Government to advise the Queen **not to issue any more writs for the Peers**—a nice Party, to try and persuade the Queen to upset the Constitution and endanger her own position on the Throne.

Then we have Mr. Frederick Harrison (Radical and Socialist) urging the Government to elevate 500 **sweeps** to the Peerage—would he act as one of them?—("Fortnightly Review," September, 1892, p. 276.)

Then we have another typical Radical (Sir James Kitson, M.P.) who has been decorated (?) with a title himself, urging the Government to **abolish the House of Lords by Royal Warrant**. ("Times," April 9, 1894.)

A Radical is never happy unless he is *abolishing* something *destroying* something!

Lord Tweedmouth said some time ago that “the task of ending the House of Lords would be *dangerous* for the Liberal Party.”—(At the Eighty Club, 1894.)

And once more we have Mr. Labouchere bringing forward a motion to “ignore” the House of Lords, because not elected by the voters, or else create 500 new Peers. (House of Commons, March 13, 1894.)

The voting was:—

For the motion ...	...	...	...	...	147
Against ...	...	...	...	...	145
Majority in favour of ignoring ...					2

This motion was carried against the Government, more than half the majority being Irish Home Rulers, who voted as a matter of revenge against the House of Lords.

Rev. Mr. Sylvester Horne, at the Free Church Council meeting in London (November 5, 1906), urged the Government to send the Education Bill again to the House of Lords, and create 500 new Peers to force them to pass it.—How nice! Peers are “wicked” people, but these Radicals want 500 more “wicked ‘uns” to corrupt the rest.

These men would act as “Cromwells,” but the late Liberal Premier, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, was bound to acknowledge that Cromwell did **nothing** for English liberty, for he says:—

“The reign of Cromwell was a great reign—but HE DID NOTHING for English freedom—because it was the reign of a military force, and it has not left on the Statute Book the record of such triumphs as were achieved by peaceful action during the, in many respects, base and infamous reign which followed—the reign of Charles II.”—(*House of Commons*, July 24, 1882.)

CHARACTER AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSE OF LORDS.

The composition of our House of Lords is a consideration which all students of our Constitution ought to ponder; for all must admit that the individual qualities of this body are a guarantee that its functions will be properly fulfilled.

We are aware that efforts are sometimes made to disparage the characters of members of the British peerage by raking up and circulating stories derogatory to their honour and position; inventing, or at least exaggerating, tales unfit for decent society. Men who can do this—who take pleasure in filth and social scandal—ought not to be the people one should listen to for political education. One would not wish to defend anything that is wrong in the aristocracy, any more than one would defend wrong doing in any other class of the community; where there is a sore spot in our society it is for the good of the community that it should be exposed—providing it be done in a proper and decent manner. The public

read a great deal of the private lives of many of our aristocratic families—their exalted station causes them to be looked up to, copied, and talked about, whatever they do. Although there may be blots here and there, which is quite unavoidable in so large a body of men, we may venture to say that there is more courtesy, honour, learning, dignity, and gentlemanly conduct in our aristocracy than in any other body of gentlemen of equal number in this or any other country. The assailants of our nobles and their families are very much like the accusers of the poor woman in the Gospel—they would like to punish them for faults of which they themselves are far more guilty. We may with confidence say that our aristocracy are, as a body, the pride of the country and the envy of the world. May they long continue so.

We may say with Gibbon :—

“ Its foundations were laid on ancient and free institutions which, good from the first, were still gradually improving, and which alone amongst all others since the origin of civil society had completely solved the great problem how to combine the greatest security to property with the greatest freedom of action.”

Under the beneficent rule of the House of Lords the British Empire has grown to its present proportions. It is while we have had a House of Lords that our liberties, both civil and religious, have been born and have thriven. Many members of the House of Lords have personally assisted in these developments.

Four hundred millions of human beings own the sway of King Edward VII. and in all matters of imperial concern, recognise the authority of the Sovereign and his Parliament of Lords and Commons, from whom their liberties flow.

Twelve millions of square miles of territory—one-fourth of the whole habitable globe—are ruled by our present constitutional authorities, while both territories and liberties have increased and broadened down the stream of time, by the influence and under the guidance of a Parliament of which the House of Lords forms part. It is too precious a heritage to throw away. It has cost too many sacrifices to secure.

Here is a significant admission from an opponent of the House of Lords :—

“ Until the reign of George III. the House of Lords was decidedly superior to the House of Commons in the *liberality* and general accomplishments of its members.”—The late CHARLES BRADLAUGH, *Impeachment of the House of Brunswick*, p. 32.

Another and equally strong testimony on this subject deserves consideration :—

“ I avow to you moreover, that I mean to support in its full integrity the authority of the House of Lords—as an essential, indispensable condition of the continued existence of the mixed form of government under which we live as tantamount, in short, to the maintenance of the British Constitution—(Loud and long continued cheers)—(SIR ROBERT PEEL, at Glasgow, 1837).

THE ARISTOCRACY AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

In the *Financial Reform Almanack* for 1884 there are 27 pages of names, in that of 1885 there are 26 pages of names of peers, relatives of peers, relations by marriage, ancestors, and collaterals.* These are summarised as follows:—That 532 noble families, consisting of 7,991 relatives, hold and have held 13,888 public offices at a cost, presumably out of the taxation of the country, of £108,614,632. It also states that these lists date from January 1st, 1850, up to 1885.

This statement, *if it were true*, would be as Lord Goschen said, “*a staggerer*,” but if it be untrue, then the unblushing impudence and unscrupulous mendacity of the paper which circulates these crammers is much more than a staggerer—it is simply an abomination and an outrage.

How any journal with the slightest self-respect could be guilty of circulating the mis-statements, the half-falsehoods, and the full-blown lies which abound in that list passes comprehension. It can only be explained on the theory which actuates all unscrupulous politicians:

Say all the ill you can,
Misrepresent as much as you can,
Get as many votes as you can,
Get them honestly if you can,
But——get them !

The result often is—

Radical Party in Power.

Destructive Principles reduced to Practice.

General Discontent—Extravagance and Waste in the National Finances.

The System on which the Financial Fabulist's list is prepared is vicious and wicked. The so-called facts are many of them mere assumptions; while the downright *unfacts* are numerous and glaring.

Whole families are accused of corruption and place-hunting, the characters of some of our best and worthiest citizens are maligned and slandered, and their feelings recklessly and brutally wounded. Even the sacred cause of truth would not justify the language used; but when such vile and coarse attacks have no better foundation than a volume of fiction and imagination, language fails to find the fitting punishment for such literary assassins and hired bravos. The immoral way in which the list is got up was accurately described by Mr. Goschen† at Ripon, January 30, 1884.

* These are the latest years in which the *Financial Reform Almanack* deals with this subject except the one for 1886, where reference is made to the enormous mistake they have perpetrated by overstating the amount by £914,700—a mere trifle for this “Story Teller.”

† The late Lord Goschen,

MR. GOSCHEN, AT RIPON, ON THE FINANCIAL REFORM ALMANACK.

(*Times*, January 31, 1884, p. 7.)

The *Financial Reformer* supplies details which, when summed up, show that 23 ducal families, composed of 519 members, occupy 1,013 offices under Government as hereditary privileges at a cost to the State of £9,760,090; that the families of 33 marquesses supply 621 poor relations for 1,250 offices at a cost of £8,300,000; and that the family connections of 200 earls, numbering 3,400, hold 5,960 public offices at a cost of £48,105,000, equal to 8,226 offices held by 4,531 members of the nobility at a cost of £66,168,000. That is a curious statement. It is a staggerer, I think. One can fancy a body of working men who read that statement saying, "The *Financial Reform Almanack* is, I believe, subsidised by the Cobden Club." This is "the extent to which our aristocracy are feeding, 'preying'—that is the phrase used—upon the British taxes." When I look at the *Financial Reform Almanack* I find that it is not that they hold those offices, but that they have held them during the last 33 years, since 1850. But who can tell that from the paragraph I have read? Many of these persons are dead already who were holding those offices; while it also included pay or pensions received prior to the year 1850. Now, supposing an honest *employé* of a bank, who begins on a salary of £250, and ends after 30 years' service with £1,000, and that he has had an average income of £500—is it fair to say to him at the end of the 30 years, "My dear sir, you have taken £15,000 out of the pocket of your employer"? It is very much like adding up how many eggs or pounds of meat a man eats during his life. But there are some more curiosities in this list. I look out a few of the families, and I find there are included among them the families of Lord Chancellors who have risen from the ranks, and who have only just joined the aristocracy; but nevertheless the sums earned by themselves, by their fathers, by their brothers, cousins, first cousins, second cousins, and half-cousins by marriage, are all included in this sum, in order to prove to the new democracy what the aristocracy has cost the people. Lord Selborne stands for the important total of £317,000 in this list. Of course his salary as Attorney-General is included. His father was a clergyman, and his salary is added to the sum. His brother is a distinguished tutor at Oxford, but he goes down also in this black list as having received so much from the Church and from the University. He has a cousin by marriage who is also put down, and he has a half-cousin in the Civil Service, and it is not only what you get in one year, but if any of your half-cousins, or brothers-in-law, or uncles have any public pay, because you have been made an earl the whole has been swept together, and the whole is put down, in order to teach the public how much the hereditary aristocracy receive.

I want fair play all round; and I say it is not fair play to put down as "British aristocratic prerogatives" the pay received by an Oxford tutor for the work that he does there.

There is one more family that you should hear of, because it is a curious case. It is the Lytton family, whose figure forms a total of £400,000.

Lord Lytton was a novelist, and a very distinguished novelist; but he is ennobled, and all that his relations have before his time, or during his time, or after his time, been receiving in the way of State pay is added up, and Lord Lytton figures with £400,000 in the black list. These families together account for £900,000. I think that is making up statistics in a rather *curious fashion*.

But I object to more than these errors, as I will call them, in the making up of the compilation. I object to the *system* of saying that any man is to be held up in this way to abuse if he does honest work for the pay which he receives from the State.

Among this list there are a vast number of officers in the army, officers in the navy, and men who have laboured in the Civil Service.

There are men for whom sums are put down here who have not only lived for their country, but who have *died* for it. There are men in that list like your own neighbour, Lord Ripon, who, in the interest of the public service, carries his health out to India and risks his life, because he does risk life in that position, through the climate, in the service of the State; and I say do not let us, now we are coming more and more to democratic times, by devices such as these teach the working classes or the populace to wish to dissociate the upper classes from the service of the State, but rather let there be a rivalry—let all classes do their best by the country.

"And so say all of us." Lord Goschen has in no sense exhausted the *unfacts* in this black list. Here are a few more typical ones:—

LORD SALISBURY

and his family are put down for £192,000 of public money, of which Lord Salisbury himself is credited with only £6,000. The remaining trifle of £186,000 is attached to his name on the nonsensical principle that one member of a family must bear the political and financial sins of all the others—fathers, brothers, grandfathers, cousins, half-cousins, father-in-law, brother-in-law, in fact, everybody who by direct relationship, marriage, or otherwise can be dragged in to swell the total of these foolish lists. Lord Salisbury married one of the nine children of the late Sir E. H. Alderson (a judge) in 1857—therefore the whole of the salary received by Judge Alderson during a long official life (the Fabulist's Guide states it at £130,000) is dragged out of the judge's grave and tacked on to Lord Salisbury's name. This is done to demonstrate the iniquitous act of Lord Salisbury in marrying an orphan whose father had dared to receive a salary for twenty-five years' services rendered to the State. The theory regulating the Financial Fabulists in their statements seems to be this: That the Liberal Minister (Lord Brougham) who appointed Sir Edward Alderson did it because he guessed that Lord Salisbury (who was then a baby—1830) would marry one of the judge's nine children a quarter of a century later. Even if we credit Lord Brougham with so much foreknowledge, it is difficult to understand why the whole of Judge Alderson's professional salary should be treated as part of Lord Salisbury's profits from public money. Why not add the salaries of all judges England has ever possessed, with that of all their clerks, cooks, and footmen, to the sum total? It would be a much bigger sum than £130,000, and be quite as truthful and just. Again, Lord Salisbury's father is put down for £41,000, and as having held six offices. This amount is only exaggerated by the small sum of £20,000, and even the balance was fairly earned as an officer in the army and in the administration of his country. A small exaggeration of this kind is nothing to this "Book of Fables."

FRAUDULENT EXAGGERATIONS.

The late Lord Stanley of Alderley, in the House of Lords, on July 20, 1885, cites the case of Lord Carlingford:

"There was a peer, a member of the late (Liberal) Government, who was said to have received, along with sixteen relatives, nearly £200,000. Of these sixteen, as a matter of fact, there were only three relatives—one married to a niece by marriage: the other died before this peer (Lord Carlingford) was born: the third had left the service long before he became a connection by marriage. In his (Lord Stanley of Alderley's) own ease, the salary he had received was put as nearly double the amount, and he was credited with the pay of Sir Edward

Parry, the Arctic voyager, and of General Scott, who was badly wounded at Talavera in 1809, both of whom, late in life, married relations of his father. They had put down £76,000 as the salary received by his father during his life : it should have been £50,400. From a calculation made for him in a public office the error with respect to these two salaries was £29,000 in a sum of £83,500. Lord Stanley then mentioned that 'he had found Earl Granville's salary had been overstated by £35,000, and Lord Kimberley's by £25,000. Who would defend these fraudulent statistics ?'

Commenting on the above, the *St. James's Gazette* of August 19, 1885, makes the case still worse for the *Almanack* when it says :

"In the case of *Lord Granville* there is a still more gross mistake, for he is accredited with £60,000, his salary as Warden of the Cinque Ports since 1865. Will the editor of the *Almanack* be surprised to hear, or will he not, that no salary has been attached to the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports since the death of the Duke of Wellington in 1852. From Lord Granville's account alone, then, we have at once to strike off another £60,000, making the total deduction not less than £95,000, and the sum actually received by Lord Granville £76,000 instead of £171,000."

There is no need to ask : "Will the editor of the *Almanack* be surprised?" This editor, with an impervious political skin, will be surprised at nothing in the way of correction. You cannot tickle a rhinoceros with a feather.

The grandson of that Lord Stanley of Alderley is now a Radical M.P. for an important Cheshire constituency (Eddisbury). What does he think of these slanders on his family—propagated by the Radical Party to obtain a few miserable votes from ignorant voters?

The man who will take away another's character by falsehood would commit a burglary.

The *Almanack* for 1886 quadrupled the naval pay of the late Duke of Edinburgh, for after December, 1884, he was on half-pay and received :—

Fact.	£	Fiction.	£
This amount only (D. of Ed.)	593	The Book of Lies	says 2,555
Admiral Phillimore received	24,584	The Handbook of "Crammers"	45,000
Mr. E. A. Drummond	1,045	The Prevaricators' Primer	5,600
Lord Sidmouth	627	The Radical Romancist	2,000
Mr. B. W. Drummond (a young "middy")	107	The Catchpenny Calumniator	500
Lord Chas. Beresford	3,716	The Financial Fabulist	*16,000
Captain J. R. Fullerton	6,500	The Grievance Jerrymander	25,000
Hon. P. J. Stanhope	£82 2s. 6d.	This (self-styled) <i>Financial Reformer</i>	2,000
The Hon. S. J. Fortescue	1,445	The Political Pedlar	6,000
Lord Queensbury	228	The Universal Vilifier	1,500
Lord Lewis Gordon	309	The Magazine of Mischief	750
Viscount Dursley	142	The Journal of Moonshine	1,500
T. V. Anson	21,780	The Monetary Misleader	45,000
H. B. Anson	1,845	The Sneering Story Teller	3,000
C. E. Anson	960	The Reckless Reporter	1,500
Hon. W. V. Anson	720	The Awful Almanack	1,500
Total Actual	£64,683	Total Apocryphal	£159,405
&c., &c., &c., ad nauseam.			

* £10,000 of this is said to be a misprint! All these examples are from the navy alone, and might be multiplied indefinitely.

Here in these few items is a slight exaggeration of only £94,722. What must be the gross error in fifty-three pages of such libellous statements?

You told a lie, an odious, damned lie,
Upon my soul a lie, a wicked lie.—*Othello*, Act v., sc. 2.

“ Alas for the rarity of political purity under the sun.”

Mr. R. D. LITTLER, Q.C., makes the following statement in the *Times* :—

LORD SHAFESBURY

is put down for £153,700, of which £65,000 is the salary of his father (who died in 1850, at about four-score years of age) as Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords, and £50,000 for his brother, whose office ceased in 1847; while the next largest is the official salary of the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, for good service rendered to the State.

LORD SELBORNE

figures for £316,000, by adding together every relative, I suppose, he ever had from father to half-cousin and all collaterals; and, as in the case of Lord Salisbury, by assuming that by some prophetic instinct the individual who gave his father his living some fifty or sixty years ago knew that Roundell Palmer would be made an earl, and thus give some future “ Financial Reformer ” a chance of vilifying the whole family through the very son whose abilities have raised him to the peerage. The whole of

LORD BRAMWELL'S

judicial salary, which was all earned before his elevation to the peerage (£153,000), is included in this list on the plea, I presume, that “ all is fish which come to this political net.” The same may be said of almost all the

LORD CHANCELLORS AND JUDGES,

men who, having grown grey in the service of the State, and having been ennobled for these services, were immediately pounced upon by the *Almanack*, and had the official earnings of themselves, of all their living and dead relations, added together and tacked on to their names, with every successive office they had held, and this money counted, not as if it had been earned, but as if it had been paid them for being aristocrats or the relatives of aristocrats, and not for services rendered to the nation.

The Bishops were treated in the same dishonest way. Thus the late

BISHOP OF EXETER'S*

salary as Head Master of Rugby School, and also his salary as Bishop of Exeter, were added together and debited to Lord Harewood, because the Bishop happened to marry a cousin to that nobleman.

The statements as to places and salaries of the

LATE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND

were also considerably mixed and wrongly stated. The Duke had never held more than five places; he was credited with six. He had not been in the army since 1850, and therefore ought not to have been in the list at all. The present Duke (then Earl Percy) was credited with receiving £1,800; £1,475 was on account of a Court appointment, and was debited by the *Almanack* to the Royal Family in the Civil List. Of course the "Liar's Book of Etiquette" was not particular about debiting the same sums twice over when by doing so it would feather its own dirty political nest.

THE FIFTH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND

was debited with £12,500, and five places. He held but one place after 1850 as an Officer in the Militia for four or five years, and therefore ought not to be in this list at all. This involves another small "mistake" of £12,500. The Hon. Hugh Percy, a member of this family (died 1856), was Bishop of Carlisle for six years, at £4,500 per year. The Fabulist puts him down for three places, and £130,500. Note the carefulness about the odd £500! This a further small "mistake" of only £103,000! How it is done would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer, or even Ananias; but judging by the results produced, there is no difficulty in manufacturing any size of amount or any number of places. Even if the money came from Church (private) property, it was all the same to the "gentlemen" who conducted the "Book of Fables," if they could only cram the voters with the idea that "these aristocrats" are being kept out of the taxes.

Another honoured name put into this "lying list" is that of the

LATE DUKE OF ABERCORN.

The duke was put down as holding six offices, and as having received from them the large sum of £85,000. This is another small "error" of two places; and for three of the remaining four places no salary whatever was received by the duke. The

* Bishop Temple, afterwards Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury.

one place out of the four to which salary was attached was that of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and instead of having any profit from that office during the four years he held it he had to pay out of pocket no less a sum than £60,000 to meet the expenditure of the Viceregal Lodge, which was practically a present of £60,000 to the taxpayers of the country. The present duke (then Marquis of Hamilton), son of the foregoing, was credited with holding three places, and receiving £8,000. For once the statement was right as to the number of places, but totally false as to salaries. The marquis never received a penny of public money, nor held any public salaried office. Lord Claud Hamilton was credited with six offices, and £3,000 salaries. Here is a small "mistake" of five in the number of offices, and of £2,500 of the amount said to be received.

Lord Frederick Hamilton was also credited with two offices and £3,000 salary. Fifty per cent. of this statement, both as to salary and office, is false. The mistakes in regard to Lord George Hamilton were equally glaring and equally false.

These, then, are only a few samples, which might be indefinitely increased, of the disgraceful and untrue statements of that foremost of falsehood framers—the *Financial Reform Almanack*.

Most people avoid fighting with sweeps, and in touching pitch one is sure to be defiled; but in the interest of public honour and private character some notice should be taken of these slanders, and an attempt made to chastise their authors.

FURTHER STATEMENTS.—APOLOGIES.

The iniquity of publishing such a list as "The Aristocracy and the Public Service" is evident to everyone, and even the pachydermatous Committee, who told lies through the *Financial Reform Almanack*, seem to have had some twinges of conscience, because in the *Almanack* for 1886, p. 118, they confessed to having made a mistake to the extent of £914,700, by having accused sundry persons of receiving all this money, when as a matter of fact these persons have not received a single penny of it.

A slight mistake of a million of pounds sterling is a trifle to these manufacturers of financial follies. They are well aware that those who can swallow the enormous falsehoods paraded in the *Almanack* will not even make a wry face when they have to swallow another million, more or less.

POWER OF NOBLES.

Another creditable feature in our aristocracy—they do not intrigue and rebel, as the nobles of France did, to the ruin of their country. They do not live by oppressing the people, keeping them in the most abject subjection by the knout, rack,

and gibbet, as the nobles of Russia do. A noble with us has no more power before the law than the poorest workman. He cannot invade either the privacy or property of the meanest person in the kingdom.

Though he may pay £20,000 a year to the country in taxes, he has less real power over them than the humblest labourer whose earnings may not amount to 10s. per week, whose dwelling may be a cellar and whose contribution to taxation may not amount to 5s. per annum. For he has no vote for a representative in the House of Commons, where all money-bills (imposing taxes) are introduced, and, as a member of the House of Lords, he cannot vote for their amendment, but the Lords must either accept them or take the (in most cases) practically impossible course of rejecting them altogether (see p. 32).

PERSONAL ELEMENT IN HOUSE OF LORDS.

Let us take another aspect of the question. The personal element of the House of Lords, with its effects upon the history of the country, is a most important consideration. The English aristocracy is, and has *always* been, renowned for men of *energy, power, eloquence, bravery and learning*. At every period of our history, instances are abundant where Peers have shown themselves worthy of the position they have occupied; instances have been already given which might be indefinitely multiplied. As to the general ability of the Peers, as a body, they are neither the *drones* nor imbeciles which some people call them.

Let us take the most difficult and delicate class of work which the country has to perform—I mean the position of ambassador and responsible minister of the Crown.

Everyone will admit that to manage the affairs of a great nation like our own, with its multifarious interests, where we have to cope with the secret diplomacy of the *foreigner*, and meet the cunning of the *savage*; to parry the polished weapons of the civilised nations, and the craft and deceit of the uncivilised; the best intellect the country can produce is required for this class of service.

And where do we find this intellect? Not amongst the lawyers, though they are a very sharp class, for something more than sharpness is wanted; not amongst the soldiers, though they are brave, because something more than bravery is required. It wants a man to be both quick and brave and polished, with wit and learning of the very highest order; *brave* enough to speak the sharp word when required, and *wise* enough to know when to be silent. A war might be the result of an indiscreet expression. The Franco-German war of 1870 is a case in point. Let any man look round, and he

will see how *few* there are fit for this work. Take the ambassadors. Many of the ambassadors to the chief courts of Europe have belonged to the peerage, whilst a large proportion of all the other British representatives throughout the world—our Indian and Colonial Governors—have come from the aristocracy. That fact speaks volumes to all who will listen to it and weigh its significance.

Another evidence of the abilities of the Peers as compared with the Commons is that about *half* of the members of every Cabinet, Liberal as well as Conservative, during the last hundred years, have been Peers—the nation's executive.

Formerly the proportion was even greater.

In 1770, the *only* Commoners in the Cabinet were North and Sir E. Hawke; all the rest were Peers.

In 1783, William Pitt was the *only* Commoner in his Cabinet; *all* the rest were Peers. Yet more large reforms were proposed by them than in any Cabinet since.

Again, from 1702 to 1907 there have been in this country sixty administrations, and the different responsible officers have been distributed as follows:—

	Lords.	Commoners.
Premiers	41	16
Lord Chancellors*	57	0
Chancellors of Exchequer	11	51
Foreign Secretaries	56	6
Colonial Secretaries	46	23
War Secretaries	31	30
Admiralty Secretaries	49	20
Total	291	146

i.e., the proportion of Peers to Commoners has been two to one.

If you take some offices, the proportion is much larger—for instance that of Foreign Secretary, which, perhaps, of all posts, requires most tact and delicacy in its management. There have been 56 Peers to 6 Commoners, showing, if anything can show, where the *brain-power* lies.

Here are a few tests of the business ability, and capacity of members of the Upper House.

Peers have been much in demand in recent years in labour disputes and other cases as **arbitrators**—because of their brain-power, their fairness, and their large grasp of business affairs.

Lord Rosebery on the Coal Strike.

Lord Shand on the Arbitration Board.

Lord James on the Belfast and Clyde Strikes.

Lord St. Aldwyn as umpire for the Welsh Miners' Conciliation Board.
and many other instances.

* These, of course, were lords by virtue of their office.

The Chairman of almost every Royal Commission appointed to examine into the different social, political and labour problems of modern times, has been selected from members of the House of Lords.

Commissions.	Chairmen.
Elementary Education ...	Viscount Cross, G.C.B.
The Aged Poor ...	Lord Aberdare, G.C.B.
The Vaccination Acts ...	Lord Herschell, G.C.B.
Condition of the Blind, Deaf and Dumb ...	Lord Egerton of Tatton.
Welsh Land Question ...	Lord Carrington, G.C.M.G.
The Irish Land Acts ...	Lord Cowper, K.G., P.C.
The Indian Opium Trade ...	Lord Brassey, K.C.B.
The Currency ...	Lord Herschell, G.C.B.
Electric Communication with Lighthouses	Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, P.C.
Market Rights and Tolls ...	Lord Derby, K.G., P.C.
Horse Breeding...	Duke of Portland, P.C.
Sunday Closing in Wales ...	Lord Balfour of Burleigh.
Historical Manuscripts ...	Lord Esher, P.C.
Scottish Universities ...	Lord Kinnear.
Miners' Conciliation Board ...	Lord Shand, P.C.
Local Government Boundaries ...	Lord Derby, K.G., P.C.
Mining Royalties ...	Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I.
Tithe Rent Charge ...	Lord Basing, P.C.
Militia and Volunteers ...	Duke of Norfolk.
Poor Law ...	Lord Rothschild.
Sewage Disposal ...	Lord Iddesleigh.
Motor Cars ...	Viscount Selby.
Trade Disputes ...	Lord Dnnedin.
Ecclesiastical Disputes ...	Lord St. Aldwyn.
Lunacy Laws ...	Earl Waldegrave.
Railways and Canals ...	Lord S. Darling.
Capital and Labour ...	Duke of Devonshire.
Licensing ...	Lord Peel.
Local Taxation ...	Lord Balfour.
Physical Training ...	Earl Mansfield.
Railway Accidents ...	Lord James.

Here is a further list showing the abilities and the past and present political services of the Peers :—

Of the 616 members of the present House of Lords the following is their political and business record :—

PUBLIC SERVICES OF THE PEERS.

Have served in House of Commons	...	...	...	...	169
Officers of State (exclusive of Royal Household)	...	...	...	...	171
War Service (including over 60 in South Africa)	...	...	...	...	117
Service in Royal Navy ...	...	...	...	...	124
In Regular Army ...	...	...	...	...	183
In Yeomanry ...	...	...	...	...	147
In Militia ...	...	...	...	...	130
In Volunteer Force ...	...	...	...	...	100
Judges and Lawyers ...	...	...	...	...	26
Colonial Governors and Ministers ...	...	...	...	...	39
Civil and Diplomatic Services ...	...	...	...	...	58
Clergymen (exclusive of Bishops) ...	...	...	...	...	4
Mayors and County Councillors ...	...	...	...	...	140

The above record is ample evidence of their capacity for political affairs, and will compare very favourably indeed—man for man—with that of the House of Commons.

Here are a few suggestions from this list:—

The 169 former members of the House of Commons must have been sent there by the voters in 169 constituencies, and represented, say, 1,690,000 voters. Evidently they were thought capable and fit to represent the interests of these constituencies in Parliament and to help to govern the country.
Note.—Have these 169 gentlemen **lost** their abilities since they entered the House of Lords?

The 307 gentlemen who have served in the Army and Navy—defending the country, ready to *die* for it—are not thought worthy by the Radicals to help to govern it.

The 26 Judges, in whose care have been the lives and liberties of large masses of their fellow countrymen are not thought fit to help to make laws for the guidance of the daily conduct of His Majesty's subjects.

The 140 gentlemen, who have been **elected** Mayors and County Councillors of their respective districts—chosen for their knowledge and capacity by the people *among whom they live*—are branded by the Radicals as “noodles” or “drones,” while

The 39 gentlemen who have been Governors and Ministers in the various Colonies and the outlying portions of our vast empire, and have been thought fit and capable by their Sovereign to govern millions of our fellow subjects in every part of the world, are *not*, in the opinion of the modern Radical, fit to sit as members of our legislature in this country.

Knowledge and experience are of no value in the eyes of a Radical.—Pull down or destroy something is what he aims at.

The present House of Commons contains 245 Members who have had **no political experience whatever**, having been returned for the first time in 1906. The House of Lords never had such a number of inexperienced members as this.

WORK PERFORMED BY HOUSE OF LORDS.

Besides all this intellectual and diplomatic work, the members of the House of Lords take their full share in the other services of the country, though the wealth and other occupations of many of them might relieve them from any necessity to labour. Yet, as Kingslake, the historian of the Crimea, says, “The English are a race of warriors born to rule,” and the old adage forcibly puts it, “An Englishman never knows when he is beaten”; so our aristocracy, as a body, like the rest of their countrymen, are filled with this spirit of activity, showing itself in their eagerness to embrace the stirring life of *soldiers* or sailors, and to carry the English flag and name to every land.

We have in the present House of Lords about 400 members who have seen military or naval service, who, we may say, are devoting their best years to the service of the State, including some 90 volunteer officers. A fact like this is significant.

Our aristocracy, unlike that of any other country, ancient or modern, instead of wasting their time in idleness and extravagance, as was the fashion in other lands, making the commoners do all the hard work, while they reaped all the benefits, take their full share of the public burdens, and support with their wealth and their lives the welfare of our common country.

The activity of our nobles in the different public services has always been a marked feature in our history. It is in those services that they have received the training necessary to fit them for leaders in great public emergencies. It is there that our *generals*, *admirals* and *statesmen* have manifested those qualities which distinguish the English as a nation, and which have rendered the name of Briton synonymous with freedom, honour, and strength.

WAR.

No one whose opinion is worth listening to would advocate *war* for its own sake. Military and naval glory, except on rare occasions, is of little service to a country. It certainly kindles enthusiasm, which is useful, and invests the business of *war* with a dash of poetry. War is nevertheless a *necessity!* It is sometimes a scourge, it is always a *teacher*, and its lessons have been amongst the most valuable teachings which mankind has had to learn. Unfortunately, it is often the *only* school where nations *will* learn. We cannot separate, therefore, these things from humanity, and we can no more dispense with war (under our present condition of life) than we can with storms, earthquakes, or fires, which are also equally destructive.

As a striking evidence and object lesson to our people, take a glance at the devotion to duty by the Peers during the late

WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.—PEERS AT THE FRONT.! *

Conservatives	...	...	...	...	...	33	
Irish Peers (not seats in the House of Lords)	...					3	
Liberal Unionists	...	...	...	...	...	12	61
Liberals	...	...	...	...	...	3	
Non-Party	...	...	...	...	...	10	
Heirs to Peerages	...	...	...	...	...	52	
Total Peers and Heirs	...					113	

NOTE.—Four peers were killed in battle up to January, 1901, and several others afterwards.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AT THE FRONT.

Conservatives ...	...	...	...	...	31
Liberal Unionists	...	...	...	...	5
Liberals ...	...	...	...	...	2
					38

Besides the above there were 30 baronets at the front, “sharing the duty”; also three sons of the late Duke of Teck and brothers-in-law of the Prince of Wales, viz.:—

Prince Adolphus—with 17th Lancers.

Prince Francis—Capt. Royal Dragoons (served with Gen. Gatacre).

Prince Alexander—7th Hussars in Natal; also served in the Matabele War, also

Prince Christian Victor, nephew of the King (died at the war).

The Duke of Norfolk.

The Duke of Westminster.

The Duke of Marlborough.

The son-in-law of the late Duke of Westminster.

Three nephews of the late Duke of Marlborough.

Four sons of Lord Wimborne.

Several sons of Lord Derby.

The son of Lord Chesham, organiser of The Imperial Yeomanry.

and many others belonging to this class, who fought, suffered and died alongside of “Tommy Atkins,” in defence of our common country.

GENERALS AND ADMIRALS.

The courage, therefore, which has made the English a great ruling race among the nations of the earth, has animated its leaders, and enabled them to overcome dangers and difficulties—to inspire such confidence in those they have commanded as has given beforehand assurance of victory. The result is before us. The Empire over which King Edward VII. rules is larger, more important, more wealthy, happier and stronger than any empire which has ever existed. Darius, Alexander, or Cæsar, with all their power, could never command the hearts or lives of *half* the number of people who gladly own the sway of Edward VII. In like manner as the fame of Hannibal and Scipio were dear to the remembrance of their respective countrymen, are our great men equally dear to us. When we pronounce the names of Wellington, of Nelson, of Marlborough, or Clyde, the heart of every Briton who is worthy of the name responds to the sound, and exults at the thought that he is of the same race with them, and has the honour to belong to the country which gave *them* birth.

WARRIORS.

The following note is suggestive and illustrative:—

“The death of Lord Templetown removes one of the Crimean heroes from the House of Lords. Among the Peers there are, however, still to be found many who fought in the Russian war. Though the Duke of Grafton and Lord Amherst were, like Lord Templetown, severely wounded at Inkerman, Lord Tredegar and Lord Hylton took part in the famous charge of the Six Hundred. Lord Errol was wounded at the Alma, and Lord Sinclair at the storming of the Redan. The only relic of Waterloo in the Upper House is the venerable Earl of Albemarle

who entered the Army just before the opening of the Waterloo campaign, being then only a boy of 16. Both Lord Wolseley and Lord Napier of Magdala have been twice severely wounded."—*Manchester Courier*, Jan. 6th, 1890.

Here is further instructive testimony from a Radical source, and worthy of perusal at the present time:—

"The most determined enemy of the House of Lords will hardly deny that some British Peers have done their duty right nobly in the present Egyptian campaign. One—Lord St. Vincent, a most gallant and intrepid soldier—has died, universally regretted, of his wounds received at Abu Klea. Another—Lord Airlie, holding a responsible staff appointment as brigade-major—was wounded in the first fight; but we hear of him sticking bravely to his duty, and again wounded in the second. A third—Lord Cochrane (or, more exactly, Lord Dundonald, as he has now succeeded to the higher title)—eminently distinguished himself in the hard-fought engagement at Metemneh. It was with pride and pleasure that we read of his self-sacrificing courage; how, when the square moved forward under Sir Charles Wilson and Colonel Boscowen, a fresh and more determined onslaught was made on the zareba; and how Lord Cochrane, calling for volunteers, went out at their head amidst a storm of bullets and erected a flanking redoubt, which he bravely held till the advanced guard could take refuge in it. Here, at the head of his small and devoted band, he steadfastly met and repelled the repeated rushes of the dogged and audacious foe. Conduct of this kind deserves to be rewarded by the Victoria Cross. To hear of it recalls the splendid spirit which animated former bearers of the title of Cochrane in the wars of the past."—*Manchester Evening News*, Feb. 3rd, 1885.

The following, among others, owe their peerages to their military skill and the prowess they have manifested on the field of battle in many a crisis of the country's history:—

Wellington.	Grafton.	Alcester.
Clyde.	Marlborough.	Kitchener.
Sandhurst.	Lucan.	Amherst.
Arran.	Raglan.	Annesley.
Wolseley.	Strathnairne.	Errol.
Roberts.	Napier.	Westmoreland.
Albemarle.	Airey.	

and many others.

"Our warriors have degenerated," say some people. The great national struggle in the Crimea showed the contrary. That worthy pupil of Wellington, Lord Raglan, while the difficulties of a divided command, the negligence at home, the storms of the Black Sea, the jealousy of enemies, and the imbecility of "red tape," all conspired to drive him to despair and abandon the Crimea, held on like grim death, and died himself at his *post*, and in *harness*. He was seconded by men brave as himself—Sir G. Catheart, son of a peer, gave his life at Inkerman. Can we ever forget the heroism of Balaclava, where Lords Cardigan and Lucan rode twenty yards in front of their handful of men, *charging an army*?

Was there a man dismayed?
Not though the soldier knew
Someone had blundered;
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs but to *do and die*,
Into the valley of *death*
They led the six hundred.

And when the poet asks—

When can their glory fade?

a grateful nation answers—*Never!!* Every true man would wish to die rather than belong to a nation which could forget such deeds.

PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Though the peerage has been distinguished in the science of War, it has equally been renowned in the arts of Peace. Its great thinkers have been equal to its great warriors. Literature and philosophy owe much to members of the English nobility whose names are household words wherever polite literature, learning, and science are known.

We have Lord Bacon, the father of modern philosophy; Lord Byron, one of the greatest of modern poets; to whom we may add the ill-fated Earl of Surrey, son of the great Admiral, who has no superior in Early English Poetry but Chaucer. The name of Lord Tennyson stands supreme among modern English poets; the late Lord Houghton and his son, Lord Crewe, have written verses that will live; while high on the roll of English historians stand the names of Stanhope, Macaulay, Stubbs, and Creighton. Well in the front rank of English novels are those of Lord Lytton and Lord Beaconsfield; Lord Rosebery is among our most accomplished men of letters, while science is well represented by such names as Rosse, Argyll, Crawford, Rayleigh, Kelvin, and Avebury. Men like Shaftesbury, Bridgewater, Carnarvon, and Selborne are fit representatives of the highest philanthropy. As to religion, nearly all the great names which live in the religious literature of this country are those very bishops who have been, and still are, an ornament to the distinguished company with whom they sit, whose writings form a body of divinity unequalled for learning, purity, and extent. It is like a prolific spring, at which all classes of Christians quench their thirst. Names like Parker, Butler, Cranmer, Bloomfield, Watson, Burnet, Jewel, and others, would honour any church, and grace any assembly to which learning and Christian character are the passports.

STATESMEN.

Having said so much of its authors, how shall we speak of its patriots and statesmen? If devotion to the country's interests be the test of a man's worth, what an array of the greatest men we have in the British peerage! To sketch the lives of men like Burleigh, Chatham, Derby, Palmerston, Beaconsfield, or Salisbury is beyond the scope of this work; but the thoughts suggested to our minds by the mere mention of their names, and those of Grey, Russell, Richmond, Aberdeen, Granville, Iddesleigh, Carnarvon, Devonshire, Goschen,

St. Aldwyn, Lansdowne, or Milner, are sufficient to convince us that the devotion of their lives and talents to their country's service merits the gratitude of every one who is not dead to the feeling.

CHARACTER OF ANCIENT NOBILITY.

If the above mode of looking at this subject be thought too *personal*, too contracted in its scope, let us extend the view and see how the actions of our chief aristocratic families teach us the same lesson, namely, our national obligations to them. A Liberal newspaper ("The Leeds Mercury") put the matter before its readers, some time ago, in these words:—

"There are no achievements in English history so chivalrous and splendid, so great and free, as those performed by our ancient nobility; their talents, virtues, and public services command the respect and affectionate attachment of the nation; their territorial influence and possessions are guarantees for order and stability in the country, and they exactly fulfil those duties in the State which a free constitution like ours demands."

To quote one of our greatest historians:—

"The great peculiarity of the baronial estate in England, as compared with that of the Continent, is the absence of the idea of *Caste*.

"The English lords do not answer to the nobles of France, or to the princes or the counts of Germany.

"English nobility is merely the nobility of the hereditary councillors of the Crown. The right to give council being involved, at one time, in the tenure of the land, at another, in the fact of summons, at another, in the terms of a patent.

"The nobleman is the person who, for his life, holds the hereditary office denoted or implied in his title."—DR. STUBBS, *Constitutional History of England*, vol. 2, p. 76.

Sir B. Burke also on this subject says (Introduction to the Peerage, 1859):—

"The Peerage of the British Empire, like its other inimitable institutions, exists but as a link in the great chain which connects the community at large—a link of beneficial strength and honoured antiquity; adding to the public dignity, binding only for the public weal, and bearing on its surface the unstained polish of ages."

THE PERCY FAMILY.

First, then, as to the great families: Take that of *Percy*, Dukes of Northumberland. Burke says:—

"Whose nobility dates as remotely as the sovereignty of Normandy, and whose renown is coeval with its nobility; it has flourished in every age, and co-existed with every generation since. Not more famous in arms than distinguished for its alliances, the house of *Percy* stands pre-eminent for the number and rank of its families which are represented by the present Duke of Northumberland, whose banner consequently exhibits an assemblage of nearly nine hundred armorial ensigns, among which are those of Henry VII., several younger branches of the royal blood, of the sovereign houses of France, Castile, Leon, and Scotland; and of the ducal houses of Normandy and Brittany, forming a galaxy of heraldic honours altogether unparalleled."

Another writer, speaking of this house, says:

"The house of *Percy* has a history to show of almost unique grandeur. We know of *no other uncrowned house in Europe* which has *seven times* driven back

the tide of foreign invasion, and for eight hundred years stood in the front rank of resistance to regal tyranny. There is in the North no rival in magnificence or social weight to that of the Percys. Throughout the great interval, 1100 to 1800, nearly the whole of our English history, there has never been a period of twenty years during which the vote of the Percy has not been of the first importance to the Government; scarcely a century in which the lives and lands of the house have not been staked in defence of the popular cause."*

A Percy was at Runnymede in 1215, and assisted to procure the Great Charter, and was afterwards made a guardian of it.

Another Percy subscribed to that famous letter sent to the Pope (1301), in which the nobility, in the name of the people of England, repudiated his (the Pope's) interference in the affairs of this country, and declared their Sovereign to be independent of his authority. This house has also furnished numerous warriors and statesmen—men who loved to die in harness—men who have laid down their lives at the call of duty and in posts of danger.

One Percy was at Cressy (1346); another at Neville's Cross (1346), where he crushed the Scots under Bruce; another led at the terrible battle of Halidon Hill (1333); another at Dunbar (1296). We also find a Percy, the famous Hotspur, at Otterbourne (1388), and again at Homildon (1402), who was finally killed at the battle of Shrewsbury (1403). Another Percy was killed at "Bramham Moor" (1408); another at "St. Albans" (1455); and still another at "Towton" (1461).

The members of this family have also been great friends to education and religion. The fourth Lord Percy shielded Wycliffe from the persecution of his relentless enemies, and thus assisted the Reformation. Another founded three fellowships in the University College, Oxford. The fourth Duke, who succeeded to the title in 1847, was renowned for princely liberality. He built and endowed more churches than any other Peer in Great Britain. He established, at his own expense, a complete system of lifeboats along the wild north-eastern coast, where his name was, and is still, a "household word."

"About two years ago," says a writer in the *Times* newspaper (1864), "the Duke of Northumberland, with the co-operation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, established five new ecclesiastical districts in the large seaport town of North Shields, and appointed the requisite number of clergymen to them at a cost of about £100,000." And thus the history of this house is continued, illustrating the saying that "Englishmen are renowned for deeds rather than words." May its glory never fade!

* *Great Governing Families of England* (pp. 22-26). By J. Sandiford and M. Townsend.

THE TALBOTS.

Then there is the family of Talbot, represented by the Earls of Pembroke, Shrewsbury, and Waterford, a family considerably older than the Norman Conquest, which has for ages, in the persons of its various chiefs, stood forward as defenders of the land of which they are citizens. They assisted to extort the Great Charter from the tyrant John. They fought through the Wars of the Roses, helped on the Reformation with their great influence, were foremost in relieving the country from the unscrupulous James II., and ever since the Conquest the Talbots have held a front rank in the actions and councils of the nation. They were celebrated warriors under Henry I., Henry II., Henry III., Edward I., II., III., and Henry IV. and V. through the most troublous period of our history. One signed the celebrated letter to the Pope (1301); another, the greatest General of the age, was three times Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was Commander-in-Chief in France (1420 to 1425), won forty-seven battles, and fell fighting for his country in 1453—a man whose name, even at this distance of time, excites a proud sympathy in the breast of every Englishman. He was bravery personified.

Another of this House put down the rebellion in the north, called the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536). Another was guardian of Mary, Queen of Scots, for fifteen years, having the character of being the most honourable and trustworthy gentleman in the kingdom. Another, born in 1660, a scholar and statesman, spent £40,000 in the cause of William III., and signed the letter of invitation for William to come and take possession of the Throne. In short, this family has distinguished itself in every kind of public work and place of trust—providing Lord Chancellors, Lord-Lieutenants, Secretaries of State, Bishops, &c., and has well merited the motto on its crest “*Prêt d'accomplir*,” “Ready to accomplish,” for its achievements have been great.

THE LEVESON-GOWERS.

The family of Leveson-Gower, the present representatives of which house are the Duke of Sutherland, and the Earl of Ellesmere, is of Anglo-Saxon origin, and became noted soon after the Conquest; but it is within the last 250 years they have made the greatest mark in our history.

Within that time they have raised themselves from simple country baronets to be the greatest landowners in Great Britain. They have produced many statesmen and men of ability. One of them raised a regiment for Charles II.; another was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury (1471); one was a Commissioner for the Union of England and Scotland;

another resigned high office because he disapproved of the American War of Independence; he also twice declined the office of Prime Minister, and was President of the Council under the Great Pitt, in 1783. The late Lord Granville may be taken as a type of this family, whose chief services to the State have been as ministers and public servants.

THE BENTINCKS.

The Duke of Portland is the chief of the house of Bentinck. Though not an old family, as far as the British peerage is concerned, what it lacks in age it makes up in merit, for it has been distinguished for those qualities which have made our aristocracy famous—courage, foresight, and administrative ability. Its founder was the bosom friend and confidential adviser of William III., a man whom it would be difficult to equal in any rank of life for common sense, honesty, and ability. His great services to the country as general and ambassador, in the most difficult situations, were of the utmost value, and fully warranted the confidence reposed in him. He was offered a bribe of £50,000 by the East India Company for his interest, but he refused to be bought. This would never have been known had it not been accidentally discovered as the result of a Parliamentary inquiry. There are few men who could resist such a bribe. Another of his family (the second duke) was noted for literary acquirements. The next duke was also a learned man, and was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1782), was twice Prime Minister (1783 and 1807), Home Secretary (1794), and President of the Council (1801). A son of the foregoing was also a distinguished and able man; was Governor of Madras when only twenty-nine years of age, Governor-General of India in 1827, and no more able man ever held that distinguished position. The present Duke held office under the Salisbury Government—1886-1892. Other members of this family, whose actions we have not space to particularise, have been equally active and able.

THE CLINTONS.

The next family we will notice is the Clintons, which is now represented by the Duke of Newcastle. This family became prominent in the time of Henry I. (1100-35). One was at Runnymede, and had his lands seized by John for the share he took in that transaction—an early sufferer in the cause of liberty. These lands were not restored till some years after the death of John. A Clinton fought at Halidon Hill (1333); another at Poictiers (1356), and went through all these campaigns. One was Lord High Admiral, under Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth; and was also an able and distinguished

general. Another was Admiral and Governor-General of New York; another was War Minister in 1854. A public writer, speaking of this family, says:—

"A house which, for seven hundred years, has furnished a scarcely intermitted succession of men, who have spent their lives in the furtherance of England's greatness and policy."

It was the Duke of Newcastle who enabled Mr. W. E. Gladstone to enter Parliament for the Borough of Newark in 1832.

THE HOWARDS.

Another noble family whose history is largely intermixed with that of England is the Howards. This is probably a Saxon family, and one of its founders is said to be that great and brave man, "Hereward, the last of the English," whose opposition to William the Conqueror is so striking and poetical a feature in the history of those times. The Howards have the distinction of being called the Premier Earls of England. They have left their ashes on all our battlefields, and the blood of their best and greatest men has been shed for the country. One was killed at Bosworth (1485). Another passed some years in the Tower, as prisoner for his fidelity to his sovereign; but so greatly was the ability and *honour* of a Howard esteemed in those days, that he was taken from the cell and given the command of the North of England. Four successive times was this important post confided to him, to keep back the frequent incursions of the Scots. He commanded at Flodden (1513), where the Scots were completely beaten. It was a Howard who defeated the Spanish Armada. One of this family was killed in the French wars. Another, the seventh Duke of Norfolk, a Protestant, refused to carry the sword of State before James II. into the Roman Catholic Chapel. This one joined in the invitation to William III., and assisted greatly to place him on the throne. Services such as these are invaluable, and even blue blood and high rank can add nothing to them.

The present representatives of this family are the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Suffolk, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Effingham. The gifted Earl of Surrey, the poet, was also of this family.

THE SEYMORES.

The Seymour family, whose present representatives are the Duke of Somerset and the Marquis of Hertford, has also often guided the ship of State into a safe haven when threatened by political storms. It is an old family, though it did not become prominent until Henry VIII.'s time. Jane became that monarch's third wife and the mother of

Edward VI. A Somerset was leader in all the great national movements at this time—took Edinburgh in 1544—took Boulogne, 1545—was both a great warrior and a great statesman—became Lord Protector under Edward VI. The English woollen trade owes its existence to him. He was executed as an act of revenge, by his powerful political enemies, 1552. The sixth Duke of Somerset refused to admit the Pope's nuncio to an audience with James II., though commanded to do so by the King. When Queen Anne was dying, a Somerset forced his way into the Privy Council Chamber, and prevented the recall of the Stuarts, thus keeping the Act of Settlement intact, and preventing civil war. One of them in the person of Lord Raglan, served at Waterloo, and also commanded the British force in the Crimea—died in harness. Another, who died in 1855, devoted his life and his purse to science; and another was First Lord of the Admiralty in 1864—an active family of able, courageous, and honourable men.

THE RUSSELLS.

Again, we have the Russell family, dating from soon after the Conquest, though, like several other of our noble houses, it became prominent under Henry VIII. One was with Henry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold; and was also at the battle of Pavia (1524). One suffered imprisonment by Mary for his faith in 1554; he was afterwards liberated, and was a leader at the battle of Zutphen (1594). Another, called the "Wise Earl," spent £400,000 in draining the fens. One was unjustly executed in 1683, in connection with the Rye House Plot; he was an able man and a scholar. Another was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1756), and advocated at *that time* Catholic Emancipation, which was not accomplished till 1829. The author I have previously quoted says:—

"No one of the great houses, except perhaps the Percys, who have so often saved her from invasion, has deserved better of England than that of Russell."

One Russell staked his head for the Protestant faith; a second his estates in successful resistance to a despot; a third has died on the scaffold for the liberties of Englishmen; a fourth has materially aided in the Revolution which substituted *law* for the will of the sovereign; a fifth spent his life in resisting the attempt of the House of Brunswick to rebuild the power of the throne, and gave one of the first examples of just religious government in Ireland; and a sixth was twice Prime Minister and organised and carried through Parliament a bloodless but complete transfer of power from his own order to the middle class. The value of a nobility to a State has been questioned; but if a nobility be valuable, it is in families like the Russells that its value is most conspicuously shown.

THE MONTAGUES.

Another family of note in our history and a credit to our nobility is that of Montagu, at present represented by the Duke of Manchester, and the Earl of Sandwich. This is a Norman family, and came over at the Conquest. Several of its members have been noted for eloquence, learning, and literature. Macaulay, speaking of Baron Halifax, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer and also First Lord of the Treasury, says:—

“He was a statesman and orator, and a munificent patron of learning and literature.”

One (second Earl of Manchester) led the Parliamentary army at Marston Moor, 1644, where he defeated Prince Rupert. Cromwell served under him. He refused his sanction to the execution of Charles I., and retired from the public service in consequence. Another (fourth Earl of Manchester) took an active part against James II., and served with distinction in Ireland, took part in the battle of the Boyne, 1690, and was in several other engagements. Though perhaps not occupying a first place in the peerage, this family has served the country well in many branches of the public service.

THE FITZWILLIAMS.

The Fitzwilliams, represented by Viscount Milton, is another remarkable family whose individual exploits we have not space to detail. A writer speaks thus of them:—

“A race of strong, efficient, and thoughtful men, with a hearty sympathy for the people around them; redressing all visible grievances, standing always at the forefront of the popular battle. A manlier or more competent race does not distinguish the English peerage.”

THE CECILS.

During the reign of Henry VIII., the Cecil family rose to distinction, and is now represented by the Marquis of Exeter and the Marquis of Salisbury, whose father was leader of the Conservative party and Prime Minister for nearly fourteen years. The first notable man of this family was Lord Burghley, who was for forty years the friend and secretary of Queen Elizabeth; the author and chief director of that successful policy which resulted in placing England in the front rank of the nations of Europe. While the father was directing the affairs of the nation, his son was actively assisting to carry them out by fighting with the English fleet against the Spanish Armada. This son inherited the talents of his father, whom he succeeded as secretary to Elizabeth, and afterwards to James I. It was owing chiefly

to his efforts that James succeeded to the English throne without bloodshed. The late Marquis of Salisbury was a good example of the abilities of this family. A writer before quoted says of this house:—

"The Cecils have deserved well of the people, the descendant of the man who made Elizabeth great, having staked fortune and life on the side of liberty; while the family, with all its shortcomings, has consistently cared for the greatness of England."

Without such men England could never have become great.

Space will not permit the recital in detail of the exploits of all even of our chief families. History itself is full of them—is formed of them; of the Berkeleys who suffered in purse and person for the Great Charter, and have been leaders in all the early movements for liberty; of the Herberts, by whose efforts the Revolution of 1688 was accomplished; of the Somersets, descendants of "time-honoured Lancaster," the house with a galaxy of great men; of the Manners, who have given us illustrious members of the Senate, the Bar, and the Church in every period since the Conquest; of the Stanleys, a house which for bravery and eloquence and patriotism is second to none in history; of the Marlboroughs, whose genius has led them to the front rank both in war and in polities. The Greys, and Cavendishes, the Stanhopes, and the Pagets are each worthy the position they occupy, and their actions and pedigrees reflect lustre on their present possessors, and have aided very materially in making England what she is at present, viz., the first and the freest land on earth.

An aristocracy like ours is a glory to the nation, and the wish of every patriotic Englishman ought to be, "Long may it continue to lead and adorn the country which has given it birth, to the prosperity of which its own efforts have greatly contributed!"

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

It is the fashion among our modern Radicals for political purposes to hold up the House of Lords, and especially the Bishops, as the enemies of political and religious freedom.

But the enlightened action of the House of Lords in respect of the great cause of civil and religious liberty was very conspicuous during the whole reign of Queen Anne, and will serve as an instance of their conduct in this matter during many other reigns.

Mr. Lecky, and many other writers, bear clear and complete testimony to this fact.

Protestant Nonconformists as a body had been excluded from all public offices by the Corporation Act of 1661 (Charles II.), and the Test Act of 1673 (Charles II.).

The only means by which they could evade the law and qualify for office was by what was called "Occasional Conformity," *i.e.*, by attending at church occasionally to receive the Sacrament.

We are told that although it would be considered a severe hardship in these days, yet there were many conscientious dissenters who, while habitually adhering to Nonconformist worship, had no scruples about occasionally communicating according to the Anglican rite.

But this attitude did not satisfy the more extreme members of the House of Commons.

Accordingly, in 1702, again in 1703, and still again in 1704, measures for suppressing "occasional conformity" were brought into the House of Commons, and carried by large majorities, but were in **every case defeated** in the House of Lords, chiefly by the help and advice of the Bishops, acting on the strong sense of justice of the temporal Peers.

Dr. Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, spoke strongly and firmly against the Bill.

He said:—

"I think the practice of occasional conformity, as used by the dissenters, is so far from deserving the title of 'a vile hypocrisy,' that it is the duty of all moderate dissenters upon their own principles to do it."

So persistent were the Commons to carry this Bill against the dissenters that they adopted a plan to "tack" it to a money bill, in order to gain their ends, and try to checkmate the Peers.

The Lords protested against these unworthy methods, and rejected the Bill in 1702, and in 1703, and even the "tacked" Bill of 1704. They thus showed their determination not to permit any further disabilities being forced upon the dissenters in the interest of the personal and political liberty of those persons who were likely to be injured by the Bill.

As Earl Stanhope says:—

"The 'Tackers,' as they were termed, in their ardent zeal to strike a blow at the dissenters, were blind to the danger of striking a blow also at the landmarks of the Constitution."—Hist. Reign of Queen Anne, ch. 5, p. 168.

Finding that the Peers stood firm and remained steadfast in their opposition to this cruel and unstatesmanlike measure, the Commons desisted, and for **seven years** did not again try to force this unjust measure on the country.

What was this **Occasional Conformity Bill** which the Commons were so keen to pass? Here are some of its provisions:—

"Any Officer, civil or military—or any Magistrate or Councillor of a Corporation who, having received the Sacrament according to the Test Act of Charles II., should during his term of office attend any conventicle or dissenting meeting is to forfeit £10 and be incapable of holding any office or employment in England."

That was the kind of tyranny which the Commons (**representatives of the people**) were trying for years to force on the country, and from which the House of Lords saved them for more than seven years.

Is there any gratitude among the modern Dissenters? I fear not!

After the general election of 1710, which had been fought on these religious questions, the High Church party returned to the House of Commons by a very large majority. The Peers, believing as they did that the people had expressed their wishes, did not feel justified in opposing the measure any further, and therefore gave way when the Bill was sent up to them in 1711.

Their attitude then—the same as it is to-day—was to give way to the wishes of the electors on any subject when they have been directly appealed to, and their wishes clearly expressed thereon.

After this obnoxious Act had been on the Statute Book seven years, it was finally repealed in 1718, and the House of Lords took its full share in the work of repeal, led and assisted as it was by Bishop Hoadley and Bishop Kennett, whose speeches largely contributed to the completion of the good work.

The historian Lecky says on this subject:—

"In general the services of the Peers to the cause of civil and religious liberty at this time (George I. reign) were uncontested and the advantage of the Upper House in this portion of our history can scarcely be questioned by anyone who regards the Revolution and the principles it established as good."—(*Hist. of Eng.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, p. 186.)

Mr. Lecky evidently did not know the modern Radical.

Nothing can be clearer to the mind of the impartial student of our history, and we also have the universal testimony of all our great constitutional historians, whose works do credit to their intellect and research, that our method of government in this country by King, Lords, and Commons is the best system possessed by any country in the world, for smoothness, stability, and safe political progress.

But the modern Radical, with his destructive tendencies and narrow prejudices, rejects and repudiates all such testimony. He wishes to destroy our present well-tried system.

which has stood the test of centuries, with a view of bringing about a system of impracticable Socialism, a state of tyranny which would result in the loss of all personal freedom, in which every human being would be little better than a chattel, and be treated as one, and which would probably culminate in complete anarchy.

SUMMARY.

SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS IN WHICH THE LORDS HAVE TAKEN A PROMINENT PART TO ENLARGE THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND—ONE CONTINUOUS STREAM OR OVER SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS.

- 1.—The grand concession of **Magna Charta**—wrung from King John by the Peers, after fighting him for three years, led by Stephen Langton (Archbishop of Canterbury)—being the foundation of all our subsequent efforts for freedom.
- 2.—**Thirty-seven Confirmations** of Magna Charta—forced from subsequent monarchs by the Peers of England.
- 3.—**Petition of Right**—a fuller declaration of personal freedom—forced from Charles I. by the Peers of England.
- 4.—**Restoration** of Charles II. by the Peers' initiative and help. Ridding the country of Cromwell's drastic political follies.
- 5.—**Habeas Corpus Act**, under Charles II., giving all the people the right of trial by jury and without any delay.
- 6.—**Bill of Rights**—restraining the King from keeping soldiers, making war, levying taxes, &c., without the consent of both houses of Parliament.
- 7.—**The Act of Settlement**—fixing clearly the title of the Monarch to the throne of England, with the conditions attached thereto, thus preventing civil war.
- 8.—**Abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts**—to relieve Dissenters from social and political disabilities, under Duke of Wellington, 1828.
- 9.—**Catholic Emancipation Act**—to relieve Roman Catholics from religious intolerance and give them religious freedom—passed by the Duke of Wellington's Government, 1829.
- 10.—**Abolition of Slavery**—largely through Lord Derby's efforts—in 1833.

- 11.—**All the Factory and Workshop Acts** for the last 60 years have not only passed the House of Lords; but in most cases the Peers and Bishops have been among the strongest supporters of this legislation.
- 12.—**The Education Acts** of 1870, 1876, 1891, 1897, 1899, 1900, 1901, and 1902—passed for the welfare of the children of this country—have **all** been supported and passed by the House of Lords.
- 13.—**The Reform Bills** of 1832, 1867, and 1884 have each contributed to the political freedom of Englishmen and have each been passed by the House of Lords.
- 14.—**The Acts** for saving the lives of **sailors** and **miners** in their dangerous occupations, and which have been so effective for that purpose, have all been strongly supported by the House of Lords and passed by them.
- 15.—The Lords have also been the firm defenders and supporters of the Empire, seeing that they prevented disruption by opposing the Home Rule Bill, strengthened the Empire by passing the Acts for the **Federation of Canada** and of **Australia**, the Act bringing the Indian Empire under the sway of Queen Victoria, and those creating responsible government in several of our Colonies.
- 16.—And as Lord Rosebery, speaking of the House of Lords, says:—

“ We have a great heritage here—those who have their *own* honour and the honour of *their ancestors* and of *their posterity* to guard.”

And so says every reflective and patriotic Briton who thinks highly of his country's welfare.

CONCLUSION.

If the foregoing pages have attained their object, they will have shown that our aristocracy is both ancient, honourable, illustrious, and useful; that, as a body, the country is much indebted to them—that they have often stood as a bulwark of the nation, between the people and ruin. Their example and influence have been more precious to the progress of this country from barbarism to freedom than can be conveyed in words—far before the value of material conquests, however brilliant—for the faith, energy, and strength of the English people could not have come to maturity, nor attained their present growth, had it not been for that spirit of liberty which the past actions of the Peerage have done so much to foster.

We, as a nation, have got rid, after many struggles, of that mischievous idea, the “*divine right of Kings*.” Let us not therefore fall into the opposite and equally fatal notion, the “*divine right of the House of Commons*.”

We have tried both systems, and find them equally bad. The first, under the Tudors and Stuarts, when the nation was placed under the heel of those respective despots, whose word and whim brought ruin on thousands of our best citizens—taking life and property with equal impunity. The last, under the rule of a so-called Protector, at the head of a corrupt House of Commons, whose iniquitous proceedings and oppressive horrors murdered liberty and crushed out the life of a free people. No; let us keep to our well-balanced and well-tried "Institutional Liberty." Let us jealously guard and preserve our institutions as they exist—improving them by degrees as the course of time and circumstances may require. For he who has studied our Constitution most deeply will venerate it the most: and while he vigorously extirpates abuses, and steadily works out its vital law of growth and development, he will religiously guard its primary institutions from the experiments of the concited theorist, and the assaults of the disloyal destroyer.

To destroy is the sign of a weak mind, but to build up and strengthen shows the genius of the real Statesman.



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